Polynesian Voyaging Traditions

Teuira Henry & Others

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This PDF collection of traditional voyaging stories of Polynesia was originally published in print in 1995 with the title *Voyaging Chiefs of Hawai‘i* (Library of Congress Catalog Card Number 94-078788; ISBN 0-9623102-5-5). An online version was posted on the Polynesian Voyaging Society website in 2002, with four additional stories, two from the Marquesas Islands (“Aka” and “Pepeiu”) and two more from Hawai‘i (“Hawai‘iloa” and “Wahanui”).

Also added to the 2002 online edition, as an appendix, was “The Discovery and Settlement of Polynesia,” which I wrote in 1999 for the Polynesian Voyaging Society website, and which was reprinted in the Maritime Museum of San Diego’s *Mains’l Haul, A Journal of Pacific Maritime History*, Vol. 18, 2023 (“Traditional Pacific Voyaging”).

The research for this collection of voyaging stories was done while I was working as an education specialist for PVS, from 1993-2002. (See *Twenty-five Years with the Polynesian Voyaging Society*, at Dennis Kawaharada, Kalamakū Press, Internet Archive.)

Cover Photo: “Nā Wa‘a Li‘ili‘i Kiolea” / “The Long Small Canoes” by Anne Kapulani Landgraf, from *Nā Wahi Pana ‘O Ko‘olau Poko* / *The Legendary Places of Ko‘olau Poko* (University of Hawai‘i Press, 1994). Nā Wa‘a Li‘ili‘i Kiolea is located near shore at Ka‘alaea in the district of Ko‘olau Poko, O‘ahu. The stones are said to be the remains of canoes which brought sands and trees from Kahiki to Hawai‘i. Formerly, the stones were in the shape of canoes and under strict kapu. Haole road builders broke up the stones and used some of the resulting fragments to construct the coastal highway.

Dedication

To the Polynesian Voyaging Society (PVS), which was founded in 1975 to re-establish tradtional voyaging and navigation traditions of Hawai‘i.

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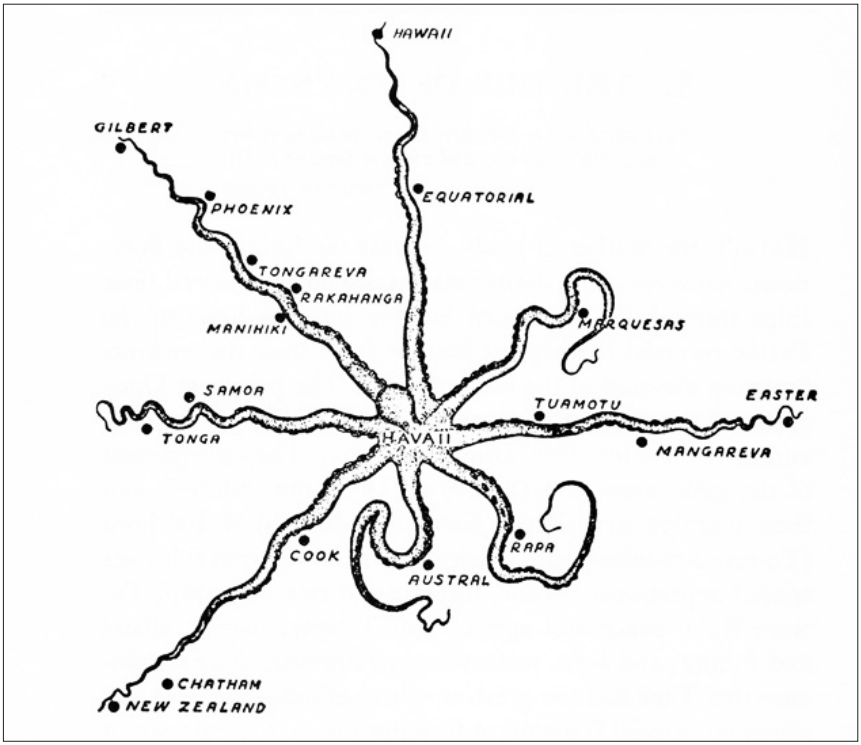
Edited by Dennis Kawaharada

PDF Edition, 2026

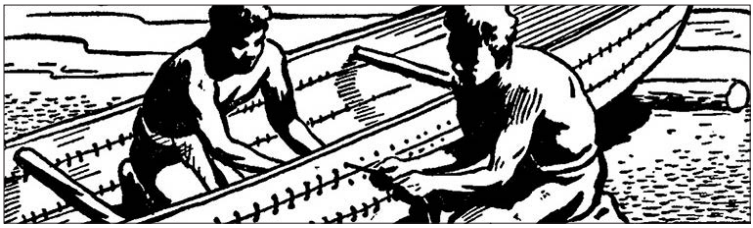


"Havai'i, the mother of lands, became the hub of the Polynesian universe. The daring mariners who had steered their ships through the unpierced horizon into the heart of the Pacific received the highest honour from their descendants by being elevated to the rank of gods." — Peter H. Buck (Te Rangi Hiroa), *Vikings of the Pacific* 87; the graphic of the octopus with Havai'i (Ra'iātea in Tahiti Nui) as its head is from page 88.

Table of Contents

Introduction: Polynesian Voyagers 1
Ru and Hina (Tahiti) 9
Hiro (Tahiti) 19
Tafa‘i (Tahiti) 37
Tangiia and Tutapu (Tahiti) 53
Rata (Tuamotu) 69
Aka (Marquesas Islands) 89
Pepeiu (Marquesas Islands) 95
Ru (Cook Islands) 99
Te Erui Ariki (Cook Islands 107
Ruatapu (Cook Islands) 117
Hawai‘iloa (Hawai‘i) 139
Mo‘ikeha (Hawai‘i) 147
Pā‘ao (Hawai‘i) 167
Wahanui (Hawai‘i) 175
Kupe (Aotearoa) 181
Hotu Matua (Rapanui) 201

Appendix: The Discovery and Settlement of Polynesia 209
Bibliography 223



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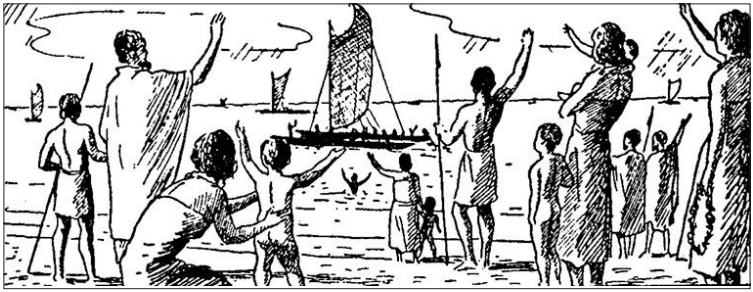

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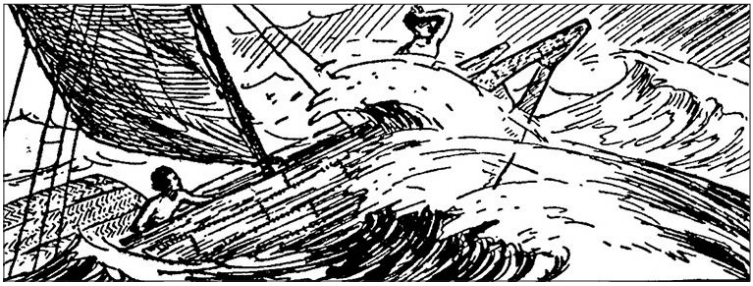

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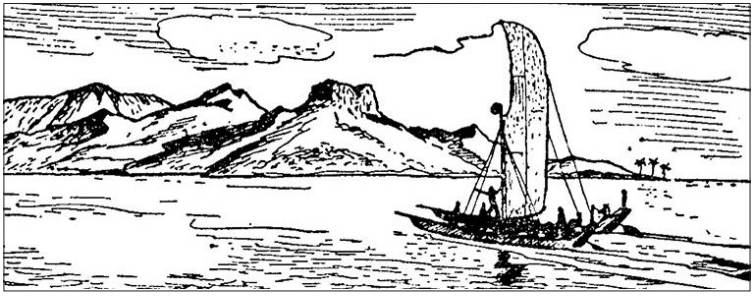


Landfall

Voyaging Scenes from *Vikings of the Pacific* (1938), by Peter H. Buck

Introduction:

Polynesian Voyagers

Before the birth of Christ, voyagers from islands east of New Guinea began to explore and settle islands upwind, toward the rising sun. This migration into the central Pacific Ocean was one of the most remarkable achievements of human history. It took over a thousand years to complete and involved finding and fixing in mind the positions of dozens of islands (some just small coral rings on which the highest landmarks are coconut trees) scattered over 10 million square miles of water. By the time European explorers entered the Pacific in the 15th century almost all of the habitable islands had been settled for hundreds of years and oral traditions told of explorations, migrations, and travels across this immense watery world.

The voyaging was all the more remarkable in that it was done in canoes carved with tools of stone, bone, and coral; lashed with hand-made fiber; and navigated without instruments by expert seafarers who depended on their observations and knowledge of the ocean, sky, and birds for clues to the direction and location of islands.

The canoe hulls were dug out from tree trunks with adzes or made from planks sewn together with fiber of coconut or other plants twisted into strands and braided for strength. Cracks and seams in the hull were caulked with plant fibers and sap from breadfruit and other trees. An outrigger was lashed to a single hull for greater stability on the open ocean; or two hulls were joined to crossbeams with a deck added between the hulls to increase carrying capacity for long-distance voyaging. The sails were made of mats woven from pandanus leaves.

These vessels were seaworthy enough to make voyages of over 2,000 miles along the longest sea roads of Polynesia, like the one between Hawai‘i and Tahiti. And though these double-hulled canoes had less carrying capacity than the broad-beamed ships of the European explorers, the Polynesian canoes were faster: one of Captain Cook’s crew estimated a Tongan canoe could sail “three miles to our two.”

After a visit to Society Islands in 1774, Andia y Varela described the

canoes he saw:

> It would give the most skilful [European] builder a shock to see craft having no more breadth of beam than three [arm] spans carrying a spread of sail so large as to befit one of ours with a beam of eight or ten spans, and which, though without means of lowering or furling the sail, make sport of the winds and waves during a gale, their safety depending wholly on two light poles … fitted to another spar of soft wood placed fore and aft wise in the manner of an outrigger… These canoes are as fine forward as the edge of a knife, so that they travel faster than the swiftest of our vessels; and they are marvellous, not only in this respect, but for their smartness in shifting from one tack to the other. (Corney 282)

The canoes were paddled or sailed. The dangers were many. The canoes could swamp or capsize in heavy seas; sails could be ripped apart, and masts and booms could be snap by strong winds; the hulls could break apart in heavy seas or be smashed against unseen rocks or reefs. And while there might be grass shelters on the decks of canoes, the voyagers were often exposed to the wind, rain, and sun, with only capes of leaves or bark-cloth wrappings for protection. A person could die of exposure during a stormy night at sea. If supplies ran short during a long voyage, starvation was a possibility. As one tradition about a 1200-mile voyage from Hiva Oa (Marquesas Islands) to Rarotonga (Cook Islands) puts it: "The voyage was so long; food and water ran out. One hundred of the paddlers died; forty men remained."

Fickle weather was a constant worry. Not enough wind to sail; or wind from the wrong direction; or too much wind and heavy seas. The art of weather prediction without instruments or satellites was essential to voyaging, to anticipate the changing direction and strength of the wind, which seemed to blow through holes in the dome of heaven along the horizon, shifting clockwise or counterclockwise. A knowledge of seasonal patterns was the basis of prediction. Daily, the navigator watched the condition of the sea and the direction of the swells, the color of the sky and the shapes, colors, and movements of clouds overhead to anticipate approaching weather. At night, the twinkling of stars indicated a strong wind. Navigators in the Gilbert Islands used various observations of animals and the moon to predict weather:

> When a voyage had to be made during the bad season, the navigator

> knew several weather signs to help him choose his day. He would watch the small red ants which infest most houses: if they were returning in numbers to their nests, laden with food, and were blocking up their doors with particles of sand, foul weather was impending; but if they swarmed out, leaving their doors wide open, it promised good weather. The spider was another prophet: when the weather was set fair he would stay in the middle of his web; but if wind and rain threatened, he would retire to something more solid. The moon was closely observed: if it had a halo in which more than ten stars could be counted, there would perhaps be rain, but not a great downpour; if fewer than ten stars were visible there would be much rain and probably wind.
>
> If, again, the moon had a double halo, the inner one reddish brown in colour, it promised a torrent on the wings of a gale. But the most reliable barometer in the opinion of the Gilbertese navigator was (and still is) the shellfish nimatanin (Nerita plicata). This is found in the shallows on the reef by the ocean beaches of the islands. When fair weather promises, it remains on the surface of the rock, and if it is found thus in any great numbers there is every hope of a long fine spell; but if the creature remains in the crevices of the reef, it is an infallible sign of heavy weather, and the deeper it hides itself the worse will be conditions for sailing. Before setting sail in the fair weather season, a Gilbertese mariner will sometimes spend several days in looking at the sea. If it is streaked in places with calm patches of an oily appearance he will refuse to start until these disappear, for they speak to him of strong currents. (R. Grimble 237-8)

For the navigator, the voyage was not only a physical challenge to work with rather than against the weather, but a mental challenge. To navigate hundreds of miles without instruments required an extensive, detailed knowledge of the ocean and sky. And without charts and plotting devices, the navigator had to memorize his course, sometimes over a period of weeks. Some scholars have expressed disbelief that such navigation could be done with any accuracy, especially on long voyages of over several hundred miles. However, modern voyages by Micronesians who still practice a form of traditional navigation and by Hawaiians and other Polynesians who have recovered this lost ancestral art have shown that navigation relying on natural signs for direction and on memorization of one's course was accurate enough to guide

canoes between the farthest reaches of Polynesia. (See Finney, Gladwin, Kyselka, and Lewis.)

Andia y Varela recorded how Tahitian navigators held their courses by using the winds and swells, and the sun and stars, which seemed to rise from fixed pits along the eastern horizon, pass overhead across the dome of heaven, then set into fixed pits along the western horizon:

> There are many sailing-masters among the people, the term for whom is in their language fatere [fa‘atere; Hawaiian: ho‘okele]. They are competent to make long voyages like that from Tahiti to Ra‘iātea, which counts about 150 miles, and others farther afield. One of them named Puhoro came to Lima on this occasion in the frigate; and from him and others I was able to find out the method by which they navigate on the high seas.
>
> They have no mariner’s compass, but divide the horizon into sixteen parts, taking for the cardinal points those at which the sun rises and sets.…
>
> When setting out from port, the helmsman reckons with the horizon, counting from the point where the sun rises; he knows the direction in which his destination bears: he sees, also, whether he has the wind aft, or on one or other beam, or on the quarter, or is close-hauled: he knows, further, whether there is a following sea, a head sea, a beam sea, or if it is on the bow or the quarter. He proceeds out of port with a knowledge of these conditions, heads his vessel according to his calculation, and aided by the signs the sea and wind afford him, does his best to keep steadily on his course.
>
> This task becomes more difficult if the day be cloudy, because of having no mark to count from for dividing out the horizon. Should the night be cloudy as well, they regulate their course by the same signs; and, since the wind is apt to vary in direction more than the swell does, they have their pennants, made of feathers and palmetto bark, to watch its changes by and trim sail, always taking their cue for a knowledge of the course from the indication the sea affords them.
>
> When the night is a clear one, they steer by the stars; and this is the easiest navigation for them because, there being many stars not only do they note by them the bearings on which the several islands with which they are in touch lie, but also the harbors in them, so that they make straight for the entrance by following the rhumb of the particular star that rises or sets over it; and they hit it off with

> as much precision as the most expert navigator of civilized nations could achieve.
>
> They distinguish the planets from the fixed stars by their movements; and give them separate names. To the stars they make use of in going from one island to another, they attach the name of the island, so that the one which serves for sailing from Tahiti to Ra‘iātea has those same names, and the same occurs with those that serve them for making the harbors in those islands.
>
> What took me most in two Indians whom I carried from Tahiti to Ra‘iātea was that every evening or night, they told me, or prognosticated, the weather we should experience on the following day, as to wind, calms, rainfall, sunshine, sea, and other points, about which they never turned out to be wrong: a foreknowledge worthy to be envied, for, in spite of all that our navigators and cosmographers have observed and written about the subject, they have not mastered this accomplishment. (Corney 284-286)

Finding islands before they could actually be seen was also part of the art of navigation. The name “Māui” seems to have been an honorific name given to numerous explorers who were capable of “fishing up” (i.e., discovering) islands. The first sign of an unseen island might be land-based birds like the fairy tern and noddy tern, or nesting seabirds, which fly out to fish in the daytime and return to their home islands at night to feed their young. Swell patterns also provide clues to the directions of islands. Swells from the direction of an island are partially blocked by it and wrap around the island, creating a distinctive pattern. Swells in the direction of an island reflect off the island back toward the observer on a canoe. The navigator was able to feel these swell patterns in the pitch and roll of his canoe. If the island is upwind, human, animal, or plant smells and drifting land vegetation might reach the canoe. Other clues to landfall include special cloud shapes over islands; a green blush on the bottom of clouds above the islands in the daytime; or a glow above an island created by sunlight or moonlight reflecting up from the white sand and smooth water of a lagoon. Underwater lightning may also point the way to land (Lewis 153-215).

The Pacific Ocean mariners also use various seamarks to find their way. “As Europeans use landmarks, so the Gilbertese [navigators] use seamarks to check their daily position. These signposts in mid-ocean consist of swarms of fish, flocks of birds, groups of driftwood, or conditions of wave and sky…peculiar to certain zones of the sea.

Hundreds of such traditional betia [seamarks] were stored up in the race memory as a result of cumulative experience of generations" (A. Grimble 48). These seamarks were found along routes between islands and indicated to the navigator that he was at a certain point along the way to his destination. For example, a seamark called "the swarming of beasts" consisted of an extraordinary number of sharks and might indicatethe canoe was "a day's sail downwind of land." Other fauna marks included a region where flying fish leaped in pairs, a zone of innumerable jellyfish, an area of numerous terns, an area of sharks and red-tailed tropic birds, a place marked by a school of porpoises, a place where pairs of porpoises point their heads "in the direction of the passage into Tarawa lagoon" (A. Grimble 49-50).

Before the 1992 voyage of the modern Hawaiian voyaging canoe *Hōkūleʻa* from Hawaiʻi to Tahiti, Satawalese navigator Mau Piailug told Hawaiian navigator Shorty Bertelmann to look for a seamark he remembered from previous voyages along the route: a school of porpoises at the northern edge of the doldrums (around 9 degrees north latitude). Bertelmann sighted the porpoises at the right place, confirming for him that he was on course and solidifying his faith in Mau's traditional navigation.

Along with their extensive natural knowledge of ocean and sky, Polynesian voyagers depended on help from the gods and spirits. The gods were essential to canoe-building. The builders performed rituals and prayers to ask persmission of the forest gods to cut down a tree; they called on the gods to guide the work. (In the tradition of Rata, the forest god Toʻa-hiti and his canoe carver Ta-vaʻa built Rata's canoe.) The builders also called on the gods to protect the canoe at sea. The naming of canoe and parts was important, for it was part of the mana, or power, of the canoe: in the tradition of Te Erui Ariki, the canoe had to be renamed after it was almost destroyed in a hurricane. The two masts were renamed for the gods Tanaroa and Rongo.

The gods were also called upon to assist in sailing. Ru, who led a migration from Raʻiātea to Aitutaki, prayed to Tangaroa to calm the stormy seas. Spirits accompanied Rata on his voyage to avenge his father's murder. They guided his canoe and helped him defeat various sea demons. Aku (bonito) and ʻōpelu (mackerel) came to rescue Pāʻao from storms sent by his angry brother Lonopele. The two fish were thereafter placed under a kapu (i.e.) protected during their spawning season by Pāʻao's priestly family. The god-like voyaging chief Hiro, on the other hand, was more inclined to challenge the gods—after the

bird of Tāne caused the death of his four brothers, he pursued the bird to the third sky, then back to earth. When the bird pleaded for mercy, Hiro relented, but banished the bird into the tenth sky. In another version of this story, Hiro pursued the god Tāne himself and threatened to hurl him to his death; the god was spared only after he begged Hiro for mercy and promised to give him seven lands and four islands.

The most celebrated center of Polynesian voyaging and navigation was the district of Opoa on the island of Ra‘iātea, anciently called Havai‘i, one days sail downwind from Tahiti in the direction of the setting summer sun. The island was apparently named after a distance homeland, which some have suggested was the island of Java (Havai‘i = Java ‘iti, or “Little Java”). This name was given to new islands discovered as exploration and settlement spread east across the Pacific: Savai‘i is the name of the largest island of Sāmoa; and Hawai‘i, the largest island in the Hawaiian chain. (In Maori, “Havai‘i” is pronounced “Hawaiki”; in Rarotongan, “‘Avaiki.”)

Buck describes the development of central Polynesian culture in the fertile high islands of the Tahitian archipelago: “An exuberant new life opened up in central Polynesia and new adjustments and progress took place, not only in the arts and crafts but in social and religious matters. The senior families and the most intelligent priests seem to have settled down in the Opoa district of Havai‘i, which became the cultural centre of the group.” (71-72). The main gods of the priests of Opoa were Ta‘aroa (Kanaloa in Hawaiian, Tangaroa in Rarotongan), a god of fishing and the sea, represented by the octopus; and later his son ‘Oro, a war god who required the first fruits of battle (human sacrifice) for his favor.

From this district, the chiefly culture spread throughout the Pacific to inhabited and uninhabited islands.

The story of these voyagers from Havai‘i are told in the oral traditions of Polynesia. These oral traditions range from factual accounts of migration voyages (Ru, Te Erui Ariki, and Ruatapu) to stories in which the human and the divine, the natural and supernatural intermingle.

The motivations of the voyagers varied. Some left to explore the world or to seek adventure. Others departed to find new land or new resources because of growing populations or prolonged droughts and other ecological disasters in their homelands. Within the sphere of known islands, others sailed to wage war or seek vengeance, to escape political persecution or unhappy love affairs, to find a wife or visit

relatives, or to obtain prized objects, like red feathers, not available at home.

Whatever the motivation for voyaging, the challenge was always the same—the huge, trackless expanses of sun-heated saltwater capable of generating fierce winds and battering waves. The challenge was met again and again by daring Pacific island voyagers, long before sailors in other parts of the world ventured beyond the coastlines of continents or inland seas and lakes. The oral traditions collected herein are a tribute to the "living spirit and divine courage" (Buck 85) of these voyagers.

Dennis Kawaharada
Honolulu, 1994

Ru and Hina

Teuira Henry

Voyage of Exploration

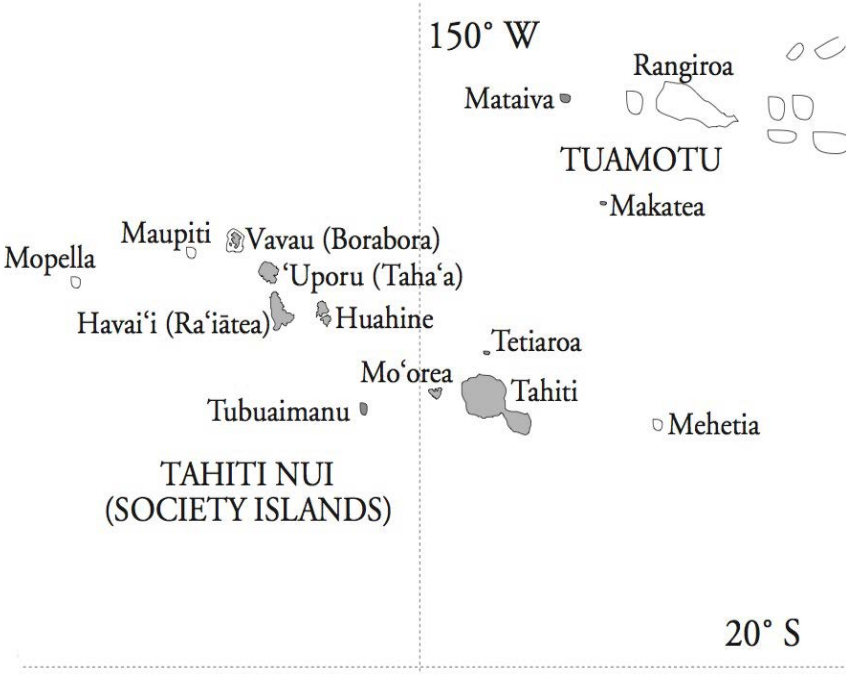
Ru (Transplanter), who raised the sky from the earth, prepared his canoe, Te-apori (The-hull), to circumnavigate the earth with his sister Hina-faʻauru-vaʻa (Hina-the-canoe-pilot).[1]

As Ru prepared his canoe, he looked around and observed the appearance of the world, and he marked the boundaries in rotation as follows:

The east he called Te-hitia-o-te-rā (The-rising-of-the-sun);
The west Tetooa-o-te-rā (The-setting-of-the-sun);
The south Apatoʻa;
The north Apatoʻerau;
The southeast Hitia-i-toʻa;
The northeast Hitia-i-toʻerau;
The southwest he named Tooa-i-toʻa;
The northwest Tooa-i-toʻerau.

A strong mat for a sail was tied with cords to a mast in the center of the canoe, and Ru and his sister embarked on their canoe Te-apori. Ru sat astern with his great paddle for steering in sailing and a smaller paddle to use in calms or for playing against the tide in meeting with head winds; Hina sat in the bows of the canoe to watch for land and thus they sailed away.

Ru lay to at night and sailed on in the day time. They sailed east and arrived at Little-Tahiti, Moʻorea struck by the wind, and at Great-Tahiti, with Hiti-i-te-ara-piopio (Taiarapu Peninsula). They sailed around those islands. Ru and his companion sailed on; the islands were all located by them; from south to north, from east to west, they were all located by Ru, the dear valiant one, Ru the great valiant one, Ru who explored the earth, and by Hina-faʻauru-vaʻa, his sister. [Told by Pape-au, a Tahitian scholar, in 1824.]



Sacred Canoe Song of Ru and Hina

O depths of the rivers!
O coldness of the rivers!
Little shrimps of the rivers,
Great shrimps of the rivers,
O prawns of the rivers,
O fullness of the rivers!
The waters inland reflecting flowers
That approach and recede!
Let the far-sighted who dwell on land
Arise and see!
Look inland to the settled mountains!
Let the farsighted who dwell on land
Arise and see!
Look over the sea of Te-fatu-moana [The-lord-of-the-ocean]!
Let the far-sighted who dwell on land
Arise and behold Ātea above!
Let the far-sighted who dwell on land
Arise and see!

Look below in the presence of Te-tumu,
At the jungles and the rushing streams,
At the fountains of the deep,
At the fountains of the surface,
At the waves of the east,
At the waves of the west,
At the stable nooks, at the burning nooks,
At the great development extending over the eight directions.
Behind was Te-ao-tea-roa [New Zealand],
Before was the vast ocean!
Ru was astern, Hina was ahead!

And thus Ru sang:
“I am drawing, drawing [thee] to land,
Te-apori, O Te-apori!
I am drawing, drawing thee to land,
Now hold steadily on to Maurua [Maupiti].”
Then cried his sister, Hina,
Upon the foaming waves:
“O Ru! land is looming up,
What land is it ?”
“it is Maurua: let its watchword be,
Great Maurua forever.”

Ru sang again:
“I am drawing, drawing thee to land,
Te-apori, O Te-apori!
I am drawing, drawing thee to land,
Now hold steadily on to Porapora.”
Then cried his sister, Hina,
Upon the foaming waves
“O Ru! land is looming up,
What land is it ?”
“It is Porapora; let its watchword be,
Porapora the great, the first-born,
Porapora of the fleet that consumes two ways,
Porapora of the muffled paddle,
Porapora of the pink leaf,
Porapora, the destroyer of fleets.”

Ru sang again:
"I am drawing, drawing thee to land,
Te-apori, O Te-apori!
I am drawing, drawing thee to land,
Now hold steadily on to Taha'a."
Then cried his sister, Hina
Upon on the foaming waves,
"O Ru! land is looming up,
What land is it ?"
"It is Taha'a, let its watchword be,
Great Taha'a of the peaceful sky."

Ru continued to sing:
"I am drawing, drawing to land,
Te-apori, O Te-apori!
I am drawing [thee] to land,
Now hold steadily on to Havai'i [Ra'iātea]."
Then cried his sister Hina,
Upon the foaming waves:
"O Ru! land is looming up.
What land is it?"
"It is Havai'i, let its watchword be,
Havai'i that towers exceeding in glory,
Great Havai'i when enraged in its beauty!"

The thrush looks seaward into the sky;
Riding upon the surf of 'Arei [in Huahine],
The dear albatross will be left behind!
Ma-uru (Changing-season) the husband, Ma-uru the wife,
Will come indeed forever, O Ru!
Draw it to run, that my sailing canoe may run!
Draw it to shore, draw it to sea,
Draw it to run, that my sailing canoe may run!
Draw it behind, draw it before,
Draw it to run,
That my sailing canoe may run!"

[This chant tells of a return voyage from Aotearoa (New Zealand) to Havai'i, or Ra'iātea. It was recited in 1886 by Tu-pa-ia, a schoolmaster who learned it from his aged grandfather Ta-taura, a ra'atira (chieftain)

of Motu-tapu, Raʻiātea.]

Traditions of Hina

A peninsula called Motu-tapu (Sacred Island), in Raʻiātea, from which Motu-tapu of the mainland derives its name, was the canoe station of Ru and Hina; a passage from there is called Te-ava-o-Hina (The-passage-of-Hina), by which they went to sea.

Not far inland from Motu-tapu is a place called Tuturaa-haa-a-Hina (Hina's-place-for-beating-bark cloth), where she is said to have made and spread out her tapa. There is the site where once stood her breadfruit tree, the bark of which she used for making ahu puʻupuʻu (white tapa); and upon the ground lies a long stone, called Te-hune-ʻuru-a-Hina (The-heart-of-Hina's-breadfruit) because of its resemblance to that object in giant form.

After exploring the earth Hina's love of discovery did not cease. So one evening when the full moon was shining invitingly, being large and half visible at the horizon, she set off in her canoe to make the moon a visit.

On arriving there, she was so pleased with it, that she stepped into it, leaving to the mercy of the sea her canoe, which was never seen again.[2]

Thus Hina-i-faʻauru-vaʻa became Hina-i-aa-i-te-marama (Hina-who-stepped-into-the-moon), as in the moon she ever afterwards remained, though she did not cease to be in sympathy with her brother in his travels on earth and to do good to man. She watched over travelers at night, an office that caused her to be called Hina-nui-te-araara (Great Hina, the watchwoman). Hina-i-aa-i-te-marama appears in Polynesian folklore generally.

The shadows in the moon were believed to be an ora (banyan) tree from the numerous branches of which Hina obtained bark and made cloth for the gods. In this capacity she was named Hina-tutu-haʻa (Hina-the-cloth-beater), and she presided over sacred cloth beaters on earth, who emulated her artistic skill in that work. On one occasion when Hina was up in the banyan tree, she broke off with her foot a branch for its bark; and as she did so with great force, it fell out into space and ultimately arrived at Opoa, Raʻiātea, where it struck root and was the first tree of its kind ever seen in this world. It is a magnificent tree with a table-shaped trunk forming a pavilion beneath and a plateau above, which are so spacious that from time immemorial people have been

wont to spread their mats in those pleasant recesses and assemble to talk and rest.

The clear space in the moon is where the branch once was, and beneath the tree in that locality is where Hina had her home. Her companion there was an u‘upa (green wild pigeon), which dwelt in the tree and lived upon its little figs. Some of these it brought to the earth, propagating the seeds in the following manner: The u‘upa had a bunch of the figs in its mouth as it came, and high up in the air it met a great otaha (man-of-war-bird), which strove to seize the figs and claim the credit of bringing the seeds down to the earth; but the u‘upa, directed by Hina, held on to its burden and escaped from its pursuer. It then scattered figs upon the earth below, and it was from them that the first ora trees in other lands in Polynesia sprang. Then people finding the bark good for cloth propagated the tree everywhere. But the terrestial ora fig does not produce seeds; it is propagated by branches.

Invocations in song, without sacrifices, were offered to Hina under the above attributes, and as a relic of the past she is still invoked by Tahitian firewalkers as Hina-te-araara, as is shown in the ceremony of te-umu-ti (the-ti-oven). The belief by the native people up to the present day that she was really an immortalized woman in the moon is considered well founded for the above reasons.

Hina had as contemporary and bosom friend in this world a great chieftainess named Vahine-nui-tahu-ra‘i (Great-woman-who-set-fire-to-the-sky), also invoked in the umi-ti ceremony. She was of a benevolent nature and protected her fellow creatures in times of restriction and trouble from the oppression of authoritative men. She had at her command the lightning, which would come at her bidding—a power from which she derived her name. [These traditions of Hina were received in 1824 from Tamera, a priest, and in 1886 from Tupaia of Motu-tapu.]

Tahitian Circuit of Navigation

After Ru and Hina had located lands, Māui and his flotilla sailed again over the ocean, for his king Ama-tai-ātea (Outrigger-of-the-expansive-ocean). As he and his people arrived at lands, they built temples conveniently and assigned them to priests.They went to the borders. They went to the east, to the Tuamotus and to Mangareva. They went south, to Tubuai, to Rurutu, to the Parrakeet Islands, Rimatara and Mangaia and on to Rarotonga, to Rimitera, and to Te-ao-tea-roa

("The-long-white-land," i.e., New Zealand) of the Maoris. They went everywhere in these directions. They went west, to Tutuila, ʻUpolu, Savaiʻi [Sāmoa]; and to Vavau [in Tonga], Atiu, Ahuahu, and Maʻatea [or Makatea, formerly called Papatea]. They went north, to the distant Marquesas and to burning ʻAihi [Hawaiʻi]. [Recited in 1854 by Paearu, a Tahitian scholar].

Comparative Folklore—Ru

In the groups near Tahiti the legend of Ru resembles the Tahitian; but farther away only fragments of it appear to exists and in some instances Ru is confounded with other characters.

In New Zealand, Ru was the earthquake god, son of Rangi (Sky) and Papa (Rock). He was never born, but remained in his mother in the center of the earth, and from him came the earthquakes. Another character named Rupe is represented as Māui mua (First Māui), brother of Hina and the other Māui's, and he was the progenitor of the pigeon, which they call rupe, the green mountain pigeon in Tahiti, and double or shadow of Ru. These versions evidently spring from one source.

In confirmation of the statement in the foregoing legend that Ru was a great navigator and discoverer of lands is the tradition of Aitutaki claiming that Ru was the first discoverer and chief of that land.[3] He landed there from Avaiki, Havaiʻi or Raʻiātea, probably, on an exploring expedition with about 200 emigrants, including men, women and children, and named the island Araura, signifying that the wind drove them there. His great double canoe was named G'na-pua-riki (Tahitian, Nā-pua-riʻi, Those-small-flowers), and the beams, three in number, which united the vessels, beginning with the foremost one, were named Tāne-mai-tai (Tāne-from-the-seaward), Te-pou-o-Tangaroa (The-post-of-Taʻaroa), and Rima-auru (Final-hand).

Finding the island beautiful, with its verdant landscape of hills and plains and its spacious lagoon of coral reef studded with lovely islets forming a safe haven for the landing of canoes, they settled upon it. Ru built near the sea a marae, which is called "ma" in Aitutaki, and named it Pua-riki (Little-flowers) after his canoe. He also built another inland, which he named Vaikuriri (Water-of-angry-Kū, god of stability), Kū-riri being the name of his tutelar god. He established seven elders (koromatua, Tahitian orometua) as lords of the realm under him.

These emigrants increased to a large number and are called in the Aitutaki genealogy Ati-Ru (Tribe of Ru). There the hero is called

Rute-toko-rangi (equivalent to Ru-te-too-rai, Ru-the-raiser-of-the-sky, in the Tahitian story), and teve plants, as in the Tahitian version, are mentioned as those that first supported the sky when it was low down. At a later date more people came to Aitutaki from Avaiki-i-raro (West Havai‘i, or Sāmoa), in the opposite direction from the Society Islands.

Notes

These traditions of Ru and Hina are from Teuira Henry’s *Ancient Tahiti*, 459-465. It is one of the few tradtions in which a man and a woman share responsibility in guiding a canoe. Voyaging eventually became a male dominated activity, though voyages of settlement included women and children as crew members and migrations were sometimes led by women. For example, in Hawaiian tradition, the volcano goddess Pele led a migration to Hawai‘i; her canoe, Honua-i-a-kea, was guided by her shark brother Kamohoali‘i. John D. Holt once showed me a collection of traditions of Moanalua Valley (O‘ahu), by Gertrude Damon, in which a chant tells the story of an ali‘i woman named Kahikilaulani who voyaged to Hawai‘iwith her paddlers Konihihnihi (“Soft Breeze”) and Konahenahe (“Gentle Breeze”) in a canoe called Ka‘ōpua (“The Cloud Bank”); on O‘ahu, she married a boy named Kamawaelualani.

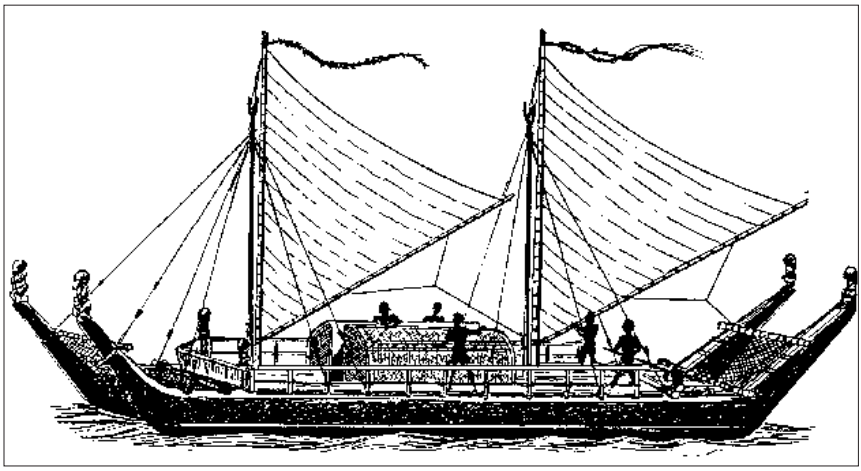
1. In another version of the creation of the earth, Ru, Māui’s grandfather, first tried to prop up the sky: “He managed to raise it onto the mountain peaks where it rested on the leaves of arrowroot, which consequently became flattened. But his physical efforts made him humpbacked and so he desisted.” Then Tinorua and Māui tried to prop up the sky and failed. Finally, Tāne succeeded (Buck 74-75).

2. In Hawaiian tradition, Hina travels to the moon not for exploration, but in order to escape the excrement of her children: “The children’s excrement has to be carried to the north side of the water hole at Ulaino [in Hāna, Maui], and Hina wearies of their constant messing and the tapu involved in the disposition of the excrement. Hence on the night of Hōkū (Full moon) she leaps to the moon from a place called Wanaikulani. Her husband leaps to catch her, but her leg breaks off in his hand (hence Hina is called Lono-muku, broken-Lono), and there she hangs in the moon to this day” (Beckwith 242; the complete story is

found in Thrum, *More Hawaiian Folk-tales* 69-71).

3. A version of the tradition of Ru, the first settler of Aitutaki, Cook Islands, is included in this volume. The settler Ru may be a namesake of the god Ru rather than the same character.

Top: A marae near the lagoon on Huahine, an island near Raʻiātea in Tahiti Nui; ***bottom***: a canoe petroglyph carved on a coral slab at the marae



Tahiti-nui, a replica of Tahitian voyaging canoe (1995)

Replica of a voyaging canoe at the Museum of Tahiti, Pape‘ete (1993)

Hiro

Teuira Henry

At Hiva, Raʻiātea, lived a chief named Raʻa-mau-riri (Sacredness-holding-anger), whose wife was Taetae-fenua (Land-peak), by whom he had four sons, named Mea-e-hiʻo-i-mua (Person-to-look-before), Mea-e-hiʻo-i-muri (Person-to-look-behind), Mea-e-hui-te-tae (Person-to-reach-sidestroke), and Tiʻa-pae-rairai (Stand-on-thin-side). Then his wife died, and Raʻamauriri took to himself a second wife, named Fai-mano-ariʻi (A thousand-royal-revelations), who bore him a giant son, named Hiro (Trickster), so named after Hiro, god of thieves, who became his guiding spirit.[1]

While yet a young lad, Hiro went to Tahiti and lived at ʻUporu (Haʻapape) with his maternal grandfather, named Ana (Cave), the senior teacher in the school called Tapu-ata-i-te-raʻi (Sacred-cloud-in-the-sky). There Hiro's four brothers had been placed as students, and while he was still too young to join them, he acquired a greater knowledge than they of the chants that he heard by listening from outside. Hiro grew so fast that he was soon the biggest youth in all ʻUporu, and one night he stole up on to the ridgepole of the schoolhouse where his grandfather, who was blind, was teaching, and this he continued to do during six consecutive nights, at the end of which he had absorbed into his person all that was taught in the school. When he was admitted as a student he recited all the chants so well that the teachers were amazed, and his grandfather said that there was nothing more at the school for him to learn. It is said that Hiro's pastime at ʻUporu was to play with sand, which he easily heaped up into hillocks which are still standing along the shore.[2]

When he became a man, he inquired of his grandfather what were the requirements of man. His grandfather replied:

"Provide yourself with a home, and marry a wife."

"If I do so," said Hiro, "what must I do with the wife?"

"Cherish and feed and clothe her," was the reply.

"That would be unprofitable," said Hiro,[3] and so he went on disapproving of everything that Ana told him a man should do. Then

he inquired what tricks man was capable of doing, and when Ana enumerated: lying, deceiving, and thieving.

Hiro exclaimed: “Yes, stealing is good; that is a profitable thing; it will be satisfying to a man.”

So Hiro decided to become a thief under the protection of Hiro, god of thieves; and he began by stealing young breadfruit and coconut trees (taking the precaution not to do so from lands close by). He planted these trees on his own grounds.

Hiro was a great pig hunter. Early one morning Hiro told his grandfather that he was going far up inland to a sacred place called Ou-tupuna (Ancestor’s-stronghold) for a branch of an ‘ava tree named ‘Ava-tupu-tahi (Solitary-‘ava), famed for its age and immense size. His grandfather cautioned him to be careful not to desecrate the sacred grounds. Hiro went there, and on his arrival, he was greeted by two men, keepers of the premises, named Taru‘i-hau (Exceeding-darkness) and Te-rima-‘aere (The-hand-in-space). They asked him what his errand was, for, said they, “No man dares enter here.” When Hiro told them what he wanted, they refused to allow him to break a branch or to approach the sacred ‘ava. They yielded not to his entreaties and finally threatened to take his life if he would not depart.

Much vexed, Hiro struck off some branches from the ‘ava tree with his spear but by enchantment the two keepers caused them to reunite and grow again in their places. Hiro also used enchantment, made the tree grow very high, again broke off its branches, which remained upon the ground unaffected by the further invocations of the keepers. Then he pulled the tree up by the roots.

The keepers called to their aid a boar named Mo‘iri (Swallow-whole), of prodigious size and possessed by a man-devouring demon, so that it terrorized men who chanced to pass near the place. Soon it came rushing towards Hiro. He met it with his spear, which he thrust through its open mouth, and killed it, consigning the evil spirit to Pō (Darkness). Then the two men stepped forwards with their spears to fall upon Hiro, but he warded off their spears, caught his assailants by the hair, beat their heads together, and killed them.

Hiro tied the two men together by the hair of their heads and placed them thus across his spear, with the great ‘ava tree at one end and the pig, Mo‘iri, tied by its four legs, at the other. Then he raised his spear upon his shoulders and carried home his burden as though it were nothing. On arriving home late in the afternoon, Hiro found his

grandfather sitting beneath a spreading breadfruit tree, and before him he threw down his load upon the ground with three tremendous thuds and a crash.

"What have you there, Hiro?" asked the old man.

"The pig, Mo'iri," was the answer.

"What is it that crashed?" he asked.

"The famous solitary 'ava," said Hiro.

"And what produced the other two heavy sounds ?" asked the old man.

"The two men, Tauri-hau and Te-rima-'aere, whom I have slain."

"Aue, aue! (Alas, alas!)" said Ana, sorely mortified. "You have committed a great crime!" But when Hiro explained everything to him his anger ceased.

Hiro buried the two men in his marae, after which he purified himself for domestic work by bathing in the sea. He made an oven in which he baked the great pig and some taro, and then he prepared the 'ava drink by chewing up the roots, according to custom, and in a few moments his work was done; he had filled forty 'umete (wooden trough) with pulp and poured on water and strained out the 'ava juice ready to drink.

The old man was astonished when he was told that forty 'umete of 'ava had been prepared so quickly, and he asked to feel his grandson that he might form an idea of his size. So Hiro sat down while his grandfather stood up, and although Ana was a man of fine stature he found that his hands could reach up only below Hiro's shoulder blades, which caused him to exclaim: "You are indeed an immense man, and your mouth must hold a great deal more than that of an ordinary person. It is not surprising then that you have masticated all the 'ava so soon."

They feasted on the famous pig and drank freely of the 'ava, which they found very good. Hiro ate three-fourths of the pig and drank thirty 'umete of the 'ava and was only moderately filled; his grandfather was amply satisfied with a hind leg of the pig and two 'umete of 'ava. From this event arose the saying, formerly common in Tahiti and the Tuamotus: "Te pua'a o Mo'iri, e te 'Ava-tupu-tahi" ("The pig Mo'iri and the 'Ava-tupu-tahi").[4]

Hiro acquired a great passion for navigation and visiting lands far away. He became skilled in hewing canoes out of solid logs and was the first builder of large canoes with planks sewn together, which he called pahi (ship).[5]

A day came when Hiro conceived a strong desire to go and visit his parents in Ra‘iātea, and his grandfather agreed to let him go. He built himself a big canoe with a keel and planks sewn together, which was the first of the kind ever made in the Society Islands. He loaded it with many nice things to take as presents to his parents and also a feather cloak and girdle for himself to wear befitting his rank. Astern upon the deck he erected an altar, at which to offer prayers and upon which he placed choice food for the gods. He invited his four half-brothers to accompany him, to which they willingly agreed, and after all the usual ceremonies they launched the canoe and one fine morning in beautiful weather set sail for Ra‘iātea.

When they were well out to sea Hiro desired to take a nap, and before doing so he told his brothers that they would probably meet with flocks of birds, which would alight upon their canoe, in which case if they saw a flock of large white birds accompanied by a beautiful red bird they must by no means kill them, as it would be Tāne-manu (Bird of the god Tāne) and his train. Great trouble would ensue were they to commit so grave an offense against the god Tāne. Hiro went to sleep, and soon many birds came soaring overhead. Finally a flock of beautiful white birds with the great elegant red Tāne-manu conspicuous among them alighted upon the water, sometimes flying on to the rigging of the canoe and eating food off the altar, revealing the goodwill of Tāne.

Meanwhile, the four brothers were preparing breakfast upon a floor of sand fixed across the stern of the canoe, and with poles and paddles they beat down and killed some of the birds for meat and also struck and stunned Tāne-manu, forgetting Hiro’s caution in their excitement. Apparently dead, Tāne-manu lay unnoticed upon the altar.

Hiro slept on soundly.

When the food was cooked his brothers ate heartily of it, much enjoying the fat flesh of the sacred birds. They set aside a share for Hiro, and when he awoke and sat to eat he found the pieces of bird much more delicate than all other sea birds, and seeing the red bird on the altar he at once knew what had happened and upbraided his brothers, saying that they were thus bringing sure destruction upon them all. Hiro then took Tāne-manu, and after handling him tenderly and invoking the god Tāne to renew his life, he soon saw the bird revived, whereupon the bird flew away, his head drooping with sorrow at the unkind treatment he had received.

When Tāne-manu reached Tāne in the sky, Tāne said the names of

Hiro's brothers, according to their ages; the bird nodded assent at each name, then held up his head as soon as Tāne mentioned the name of the one who had stunned him, and thus it was made clear that the evil had happened to the bird while on the canoe.

Again Hiro went to sleep, and then came a strong current in the sea, followed by a tempest, in the midst of which the brothers saw proudly sitting upon the billows the bird Tāne-manu sent by the god Tāne to preside over the elements. They roused Hiro, who at once ordered the sails to be put down, and shortly afterwards the storm subsided, when they set sail again. So it happened that the same disturbance took place whenever Hiro fell asleep and ended after he awoke. Finally as he again prepared to sleep, he said one more storm worse than all the others would come, and he told his brothers to awaken him as soon as the sea began to show indications of the storm's approach. While Hiro slept the wind changed for the worse and came from all four quarters of the horizon at once. The sea became rough and the canoe was swamped. When Hiro awoke, he exclaimed to his brothers: "Now we are lost. Why didn't you wake me as I told you to?"

Soon Tāne-ma'ō (Shark of Tāne) came and demanded Hiro's elder brother, and Hiro answered: "Have you no pity? My ship is swamped, my altar is washed away, my goods are all wet—"

"Give me my prey or you shall die also," Tāne-ma'ō replied, and he seized Mea-e-hi'o-i-mua, and swallowed him whole. Then he swallowed the other three brothers, one after another. Hiro tried to save each, but to no avail. The shark allowed Hiro to kiss the last brother, then carried him away in his jaws.

Hiro then sank down to the bottom of the sea in his capsized canoe, and there he slept. During the night he heard two voices by him saying: "Give! give the canoe to us, Hiro; awake!" Looking around, he asked who these were, asking for his canoe.

"We are those who turn upright capsized canoes," they replied, and so Hiro welcomed them and let them turn up his canoe. He fell asleep again and was awakened by two more persons, saying: "Give, O give!" and when he inquired who they were, they answered, "We are canoe-bailers." And so with Hiro in it, they sent the canoe like a shot up to the surface of the sea and there bailed out the water and disappeared.

It was just daylight when Hiro set sail once more for Ra'iātea, his native isle. [*Hiro landed on Ra'iātea and laid out his clothes and gifts to dry. Two forest nymphs stole his feather cloak and feather girdle. Hiro trapped them at their bathing pool and kept them captive until they*

gave him back his possessions.]

As evening set in, Hiro swore vengeance upon Tāne-manu, whom he had resuscitated by invocations to the god Tāne. He found that the home where the bird roosted was near by, and as the bird was out at sea still, Hiro dug a hole beneath the roost, made his bed in it, and laid down to rest while waiting for the bird to return.

While yet asleep, Hiro heard a spirit's voice, saying, "Take him, Hiro, Take him!" and as he awoke, he reached up his long arms and secured Tāne-manu tightly in his grasp. But the bird was very strong and struggled hard until he escaped, then took flight up to the first sky, to the second sky, and to the third sky, with Hiro, undaunted, following. Then they descended to earth and alighted on the island of Rurutu, whence the bird swam to Ra'iātea. Hiro swam after him. Because of this swim Hiro had ever after a rank, sodden odor, which was compared to that of coconut husk steeped in water.

On arriving in Ra'iātea, Hiro found the weary bird perched upon a nono tree, his head drooping. Panting for breath, Tāne-manu was unable to go farther. When he saw Hiro, he exclaimed: "Let me live, O Hiro, let me live!"

Hiro said that as Tāne-manu had been the cause of all his troubles he deserved to die, but he merely banished him. Thus ended the earthly career of the beautiful red bird, Tāne-manu, who returned to Tāne in his tenth sky, where he ever afterwards remained.[6]

At last Hiro went to his parents' abode and there dwelt a long time. Hitherto he had lived a bachelor life, indifferent to the fair sex; but in Ra'iātea he at last conceived a strong attachment for a most beautiful woman named Vai-tu-marie (Clear-still-water), who was the wife of a noted warrior named Tutae (Dung), and he determined to possess her himself. So he made advances to the man, sometimes feigning friendship and again aggravating him to hostility, until one day the warrior raised his spear to strike him, when Hiro caught him by the head and broke his neck. Thus freed of the husband, Hiro took possession of the wife, of whom he became very fond, and by her he had two children, a son, named Marama (Moon), and a daughter, named Pi-ho (Splash-and-shout), and everything went on harmoniously between them until the children had grown up.

It happened one day as Hiro and two artisans, named Topa (Fall) and To-vana'a (Thy-herald), were building a canoe and the wife, Vai-

tu-marie, and two companions were talking in a house close by, that the two artisans overheard then discussing the qualities of their husbands, and in an unguarded moment, Vai-tu-marie laughed concerning Hiro's strong odor while the other two women were boasting that it was not so with their husbands. This little episode the men repeated to Hiro, who had not heard it, and he became very angry and bided his time for revenge upon his wife.

One day while he was alone, sewing on the planks of his canoe, his wife was passing by, and calling her to him he bade her aid him by getting into the canoe and drawing the sennit in while he drew it out. This the wife willingly did, but as she was not accustomed to such work Hiro contrived by jerking the sennit to make it hard for her to guide it, and in a little while she cried:

"O Hiro, my finger is pinched!"

"Which finger?" said he.

"My little finger," she replied. So he released her, and in a little while another finger got pinched and was freed, then another, and another in the same way, until at last her whole hand was caught. Then Hiro tightened the cord around her wrist and would not release his wife in spite of all her cries and entreaties, but taunted her by repeating what she had said and asking her if it was customary for women to depreciate their husbands in the eyes of others.

"O Hiro," exclaimed the poor woman writhing in agony, "I have not depreciated you, I have praised you to all my friends; regard not this passing remark as evil speaking, and let me go."

"No," said Hiro, "I will not let you go; you are tied with sennit, and you will be inclosed in a wall of shifting sand."

Knowing then that he meant to kill her, she said: "O Hiro, remember how you have loved me, witness my agony in this painful position, and consider yourself avenged for all my thoughtlessness. If I die, I shall belong to the gods, but spare my life now, O Hiro, and let me go."

But Hiro got into the canoe and brutally kicked his poor victim to death. Then he dug a shallow grave in the sand beneath the chips of his canoe and there buried her, thinking that no one had witnessed the scene; but a man who was passing by heard her pitiful cries and saw all by peeping into the shed from the outside, at the risk of losing his own life and quite powerless to save hers.

While this tragedy was taking place, their son Marama was out surf riding, which was his favorite diversion. When he returned home, not finding his mother and seeing a mat that she had been making lying

with the strands scattered around as if left for a short time, he went to the canoe shed and asked his father where she was. Hiro, fearing his son, replied: “I do not know.”

Then feeling impelled by an invisible power, Marama went towards the spot where his mother lay, and moving the sand away he found her calm and beautiful in death. He bore her body away and buried it in sacred ground in her marae, and then he went to a distant point and sat alone on the seaside, mourning deeply for her and refusing to take nourishment or receive comfort from anybody. His father did not dare approach him. As days thus passed, and Marama neither ate nor drank, feeling anxious for him Hiro sent his daughter Pi-ho, to try to console her brother and bring him home, which after great difficulty she at last succeeded in doing. Hiro felt himself condemned in the eyes of his son and avoided falling into his hands by taking frequent long voyages, fearing that he might avenge the death of his mother upon him. But, not being of the fierce nature of his father, Marama did not seek his life. They built a ship together, which they named Hotu-tai-hi (Fruitful-fishing-ground).[7]

Hiro became a great navigator and explorer, and he resolved to build himself a ship for his voyages greater than any that had been seen before. So accompanied by two experts, named Memeru (Fish) and Mataʻi-e-haʻa (Wind-for-work), he went to Raʻiātea to look for suitable timber for his work. Preferring hard mountain wood, they explored the ravines and highlands, but did not find suitable trees until they arrived at a beautiful valley named Tu-mata-riʻi (Stand-by-Pleiades), the dominion of King Puna (Source), whose home, named Vae-a-raʻi (Divider-of-the-sky), was high up, nestling in the woods in the recess of the valley. After slyly marking the trees they wanted they returned home. The next thing Hiro had to do was to find access to King Puna’s dominion, in order to chop down and take possession of the trees that the King very much coveted.

[*Hiro tricked King Puna out of his trees by giving the King’s retainers fish to eat. Once the retainers accepted the fish, Puna was obligated to reciprocate by allowing Hiro to cut down trees. Puna tried to discourage Hiro from cutting down the trees by deprecating them, but Hiro, not to be denied, went and cut them down anyway.*]

Within a few days Hiro had cut down all the fine trees that Puna had tried to save by depreciation. He cleared the trunks of their branches and bark and hewed them into shape. Then with strong fau ropes, he

and his men drew them down the valley over cliffs and ravines, as if it were merely light work. Thus King Puna was robbed of his fine aha-tea tree, his mara-uri tree, a toi (Alphitonia) tree, and a hauou (pua in Tahitian; Fagraea berteroana) tree. Hiro did not spare the trees sacred to the gods around the marae. He cut down a great tamanu (Callophyllym inophyllum), stripped the trunk of its branches and bark, split it up for planks for the bows of his canoe, and trimmed the branches for outriggers and crossbeams. He cut down a most sacred miro (Thespesia populnea) tree for planks for the after part of his canoe, and he took two tall straight breadfruit trees for planks for the deck houses. Then he went into the woods and cut down straight fau trees (Hibiscus tiliaceus) for paddles and for floor planks, and three slim hutu (Barringtonia asiatica) trees for masts. After all this depredation, Hiro and his men helped themselves to wood and thatch and reeds and all other material needed for a shed in which to build the canoe and for rollers to place under it, King Puna not daring to oppose them, as Hiro was too powerful and dangerous to vex.

These are the famous artisans who built Hiro's canoe: Hotu (Fruitful), Hiro's own chief artisan, and his assistant Tau-mariari (Rest-upon-waves); and the royal artisan Memeru of Opoa and his friend Ma'i-hae (Fierce-disease)—men unrivaled in skill and energy. Hiro super intended the work, which was according to his modeling.

Amid all the required ceremonies and prayers and good omens, they set to work. On rising ground they erected a great shed thirty fathoms long, six wide, and five fathoms high, facing the sea endwise. The builders had their baskets of axes and adzes of stone, gimlets of coconut and sea shells, and sennit of fine tight strands, prepared and consecrated to the god Tāne for this special purpose. Hiro marked out the keel, the knees, the beams, and the planks, and the men cut them into shape. All the material for the work was carefully sorted and handily placed in the shed, Hiro passing it to the men as they required it.

They set the keel of avai, toi, and mara wood, polished and firmly spliced together with hard spikes of wood secured with sennit, upon rollers in the shed and painted it with red clay mixed with charcoal so as to preserve it from wood borers. Then they fastened the knees onto the keel with spikes and sennit. Holes were bored into the keel and planks at even distances apart, and the men set to work in the following order: Hutu, the chief of Hiro's artisans, worked on the outer side to the right of the canoe, and Tau-mariari, his assistant, worked on the inner side; Memeru, the royal artisan of Opoa, worked on the outer side to the left

of the canoe, and his assistant, Ma‘i-hae, worked on the inner side. Each couple faced each other, fixing the planks in their places and drawing the sennit in and out in lacing the wood together; and the canoe soon began to assume form, the bows facing the sea. To make work light, they sang.

Te Pehe o Hiro (The Song of Hiro)

What have I, O Tāne
O Tāne, god of beauty?
‘Tis sennit!
‘Tis sennit of the host of heaven,
‘Tis sennit for thee O Tāne!
Thread it from inside, it comes outside,
Thread it from outside, it goes inside.
Tie it fully, tie it fast.
This is the fashion of thy sennit,
O Tāne,
To hold thy canoe,
That she may go over long waves,
And over short waves;
To the near horizon,
Even to the far-off horizon.
This sennit of thine, O Tāne,
Let it hold, let it hold!

Every seam and all the little holes in the wood from the keel and upwards were well caulked with fine coconut-husk fiber and pitched carefully with gum, which Hiro drew from sacred breadfruit trees of the marae, and when all the streaks were on, the canoe was washed out clean and dried well and painted inside and outside with red clay and charcoal. As the hull of the canoe reached almost to the roof, the builders could work no longer within the shed, and so they broke it away. Then the boards of the deck were set upon the beams and fixed in their places with spikes and sennit, and the ama (outrigger) of tamanu wood, which had been well steeped in water to preserve it from borers, was polished with limestone and firmly lashed with sennit on to the left side of the canoe, the upper attachment of wood forming across each end of the canoe a beam, called the ‘iato and lashed on to the right side in the same manner as on the left side. This was the song of the

outrigger:

This is sennit for lacing on the crossbeams (‘iato),
The sacred sennit of Tāne;
Now lace it on, tighten it to hold.
Lace it and wind
The sennit around it.
What will weaken it,
What will sever it,
When it holds with the sacred sennit,
With thy sacred sennit, O Tāne?

Next came the finely carved towering ornaments for a rei mua (neck-in-the-front, the figurehead) and a rei muri (neck-behind, stern ornament), which were fastened on to their respective places, and they were named Rei-fa‘apiapi-fare (Necks-filling-up-the-house), because the shed was broken away to allow placing them and finishing the canoe. The two houses, called oa mua and oa muri (fore house and aft house), were set in their places and thatched with fara leaves, after which Hutu, the chief artisan, cut out the holes in the deck and down in the keel, in which he stood the three masts, before mentioned, which had been steeped in water, well seasoned, dried, and polished.

Then the canoe was completed. Hiro dedicated it to Tāne, naming it Hohoio (Interloper), in commemoration of the manner in which the material for building it was obtained from King Puna’s land. Finally the day arrived for launching the canoe, and a great multitude assembled to the wonderful sight. The props were removed from the sides of the canoe, and the men held it ready to launch over the rollers. Hotu invoked gods Ta‘aroa, Tāne, ‘Oro, Ra‘a, Ro‘o, and Moe, to their aid, and soon their presence was felt impelling the canoe. The rollers began to move, and then the canoe went forwards, slowly at first as the men’s hands steadied it and then swiftly and well poised as it gracefully descended alone and sat upon the sea, which rose in great rolling waves caused by a wind sent to meet it by the star Ana-mua [Antares in Scorpio], the parent pillar of the sky. The spectators greatly admired Hiro’s ship and raised deafening shouts. Then the canoe was made to drink salt water; it was dipped forwards and backwards in the waves of the great moving altar of the gods and thus consecrated to Tāne. A marae was made for him in the little house aft of the deck, and the three masts were rigged with ropes and strong mats for sails and long tapa

pennants streaming from them.

Within a few days the canoe was loaded with provisions. Great fish baskets were made of bamboo, filled with many kinds of fish, and attached to the outside of the canoe so as to be in the water. Bamboos and gourds were filled with water and stowed away on board, and there were fe‘i (bananas), taro, and mahi (fermented breadfruit) in abundance. A bed of sand and stones was made upon the deck, upon which to make a fire for cooking the food, and soon Hiro was ready to go to sea. Hiro was the captain and pilot, and he had other competent seamen, who like him were acquainted with the heavenly bodies and their rising and setting. Women and children also accompanied their husbands and fathers on board, and on one fine day, with a strong favorable wind, they set sail, applauded by many spectators, among whom were prisoners of war (called titi) whose shouts were heard above all others. They saw Hiro’s great pahi sail out to sea and disappear beyond the horizon, never again to return to Tahitian shores. Thus ended Hiro’s work in his native islands.[8]

Hiro prided himself on doing things that other men could not do. At the request of his son, he made fire by friction, using toa for the upper attrition and a stone for the under attrition, instead of pliant wood for both. Then Hiro told his son to wield on a hillside, without missing, an immense heap of stones of all shapes and sizes, instead of pebbles, in a game of timo, which Hiro was accustomed to doing with his great hands without difficulty. His son complied with the request and succeeded well until he came to the last stone, which as he was about to take it up Hiro kicked away and caused Marama to stumble. This enraged Marama; he struck the hill with his fist and caused a landslide, which left steep, bare rocks. Hence the ever-standing epithet relating to the hill, “Te mou‘a ta Marama i po‘ara” (“The mountain which Marama hit”).

In Taha‘a are a number of rocks called Te-uri-a-Hiro (The-dogs-of Hiro). In a valley in Maupiti is a long rock called Te-pahi-o-Hiro (The ship-of-Hiro), one end of which got broken off in a fall from the mountain where it once lay; and on the seaside is a cliff on which are two indentations called Tuturira‘a-o-Hiro (Kneeling-prints-of-Hiro). At Porapora is a heap of stones called Te-timora‘a-o-Hiro (The-timo-game-of-Hiro); and upon a hill not far from it is a stone that has a metallic ring, called Te-oe-o-Hiro (The-bell-of-Hiro). In Huahine is mentioned a stone said to be a petrified man, who became so for neglecting to signal

the arrival of Hiro's ship; and upon a precipice in the strait is a rock called Te-hoe-o-Hiro (The-paddle-of-Hiro).[9]

Notes

This version of the story of Hiro is from Teuira Henry's *Ancient Tahiti* (Honolulu: Bishop Museum, 1928, pp. 537-552).

The voyaging ali'i Hiro is know throughout Polynesia—in Rarotonga and Aitutaki, his name is Iro; in Aotearoa he is known as Whiro; in Hawai'i, Hilo.

From various genealogies, Hiro has been placed in the twelfth or thirteenth century. Hiro was also the name of the god of thieves in Hiva (the Marquesas); and Whiro was the name of the son of the sky father and earth mother who was an enemy of Tāne. The character of the voyager Iro has taken on these aspects—he is both a trickster and a rebel.

An Aitutaki version of Hiro's story was translated by J.T. Large and published in the *Journal of the Polynesian Societ*y, Vol. 12, 1908, pp. 133-139. A Rarotongan version is given in "History and Traditions of Rarotonga," Part XIII, *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, Vol. 28: 1920, pp. 113-127.

1. In the Aitutaki version, Moe-terauri, the father of Iro, came to Enuakura [land of the red-feathered birds] from 'Avaiki seeking after women. He made love to Akimano-ki-a-tu, a married woman. He first visited her on the two nights of the lunar calendar known as Iro and Oata. When the woman became pregnant Moe-terauri said to her, 'If our child you are about to give birth to turns out to be a boy, I will call him by my two nights of the moon, Iro-nui-ma-Oata.' The woman gave birth to a son, and he was so named accordingly. Iro lived and grew up to manhood at Enuakura. The ariki of the land at that time was Puna, who ruled his people the Ati-Puna.

The identity of the island Enuakura is not clear. In the Aitutaki story, it lies east of Vavau, which could be the northern islands of Tonga; thus Enuakura, could be an island or a place among the Cook Islands, the Society Islands, or the Austral Islands. In the "History and Traditions of Rarotonga," Enuakura seems to be a place name on the island of Vavau (identified as the northern group of Tonga); in a Tahitian tradition, Fenua-'ura is mentioned in connection with

the Austral Group, SE of Rarotonga; or it could be a small islet on the reef of Borabora (See the footnote on page 127 in the "History and Traditions of Rarotonga"). Vavau was also the ancient name of Borabora.

According to the Rarotongan tradition, Moe-terauri came from Vavau (the northern islands of Tonga) to ʻUpolu (Sāmoa) to court Akimano, who was the wife of Pou-ariki. He departed for ʻUpolu after Akimano became pregnant. He left her with four inheritances for his child: "the weapon called Nio-tamore; a loincloth called Tava-manava, a garment named Au-ma-tuanaki, and a wooden pillow named Te Veri" ("History and Traditions of Rarotonga," Part XIII, *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, Vol. 28: 1920, p. 115).

2. Rarotongan Version: Iro grew up at ʻUpolu (Samoa) with his half brothers, who were children of Akimano by her husband Pou-ariki. One day, as he played with them, he knocked down his brothers' sand hills, so they beat him to death. He came back to life; this happened three more times.…

He secretly learned karakia (incantations or prayers) from two old blind relatives, then took care of the old men, bathing them, cleaning their sleeping house, feeding them, and chewing ʻawa for them. "He took the flesh of two coconuts, and squeezed them into the eyes of the blind men," which restored their sights. After Iro revealed to the old men that he was their grandson and he recited the karakia for a ceremony honoring the high-born chief who would supply them with things to eat, the old men placed him in charge of performing the ceremony.

3. Hiro's belief that it would be "unprofitable" to care for a wife foreshadows his brutal murder of his wife later in the story.

4. In the Aitutaki version, Hiro drank the beer called Aremango rather than ʻawa: He then went and stole a pig called Taapua, belonging to the Ati-Puna tribe. He cooked it in an imu, and ate the whole pig himself. Then he drank the beer, and under its influence overturned one mountain on top of another. The sign or proof of his handiwork may be seen in the spur or ridge of rocks extending from the top of the mountain to the sea, and it is called to this day 'Iro's Rope,' by which he overturned the mountain. [The hero Tafaʻi also slew a boar named Moʻiri. See "Tafaʻi" in this collection.]

5. This innovation in canoe building (lashing planks together to form a hull) is attributed in the Rarotongan tradition of Tangiia and Tutapu to Ui-te-rangiora: "Ui-te-rangiora completed his vessel and launched it. This was the first pa'i (a canoe made of planks rather than dug out from a single log) and the beginning of the dispersions of the people of 'Avaiki [the Polynesian homeland] to various islands in the Pacific."

6. The Rarotongan version of Iro's battle with the god Tāne: Iro found out from his mother that his father was Moe-tara-uri of Vavau (Tonga). He tricked the owners of a canoe that landed at 'Upolu (Samoa) into going inland to look for their gods, then boarded the canoe, took command of the crew, and sailed to Vavau. When the canoe reached the outer breakers, Iro overcame the waves that threatened to smash the canoe on the reef. Then his father shouted from shore, "Who is this well-born ariki who is able to overcome the many waves of Vavau?" Iro identified himself, and Moe-tara-uri was overjoyed and appointed Iro as ariki of Vavau.

Iro then voyaged back to 'Upolu to get his brothers and bring them to Vavau. On the way back to Vavau, his brothers killed and tried to cook Take-aitu, a bird of Tāne, the god of sailors. When Iro found out what his brothers had done, he demanded the bird, then tried to revive it by replacing with a stone the heart which had been thrown overboard.

The bird recovered enough to fly back to the land of the gods and Tāne, but died there. Tāne took revenge by sending a hurricane. Iro leapt into the water and held onto the canoe to keep it from capsizing. Tāne tricked Iro by calming the seas; when Iro saw the fair weather, he climbed back into the canoe and laid down, planning to sleep from Pipiri (September) to Akaau (December). After Iro was asleep, Tāne sent a strong gust of wind that capsized the canoe. When several of Iro's brothers climbed onto the overturned hulls, Tāne swept down and cut off their heads and took them to Matai-tonga. After searching the stomach of every fish in the sea for his brothers, Iro went to Matai-tonga. There he found their heads on the altar; he decided to punish Tāne.

Tāne's wife reported to the god that a man with a centipede mark all glowing on his back was asleep outside. Tāne identified the centipede as the mark of Iro. Iro meanwhile had fastened all the openings of the house to entrap Tāne, except for the opening in the roof. Tāne flew up, but Iro caught him at the third heaven and threatened to throw Tāne to

his death. Tāne pleaded for his life and promised to be Iro's god and to give him "the seven lands and the four islands—Porapora, Taanga, Vaiau, and Moturea Then Iro let Tāne go. Iro then went to Tahiti and dwelt on Moʻorea, where he carved a rock into the likeness of a dog. He also fashioned a fishhook to fish for food for the "Pig of Iro."

The Aitutaki version includes the following voyaging episode in which the trickster Iro is tricked: On a voyage from the upwind islands [Tahiti-nui] to the downwind island of Vavau in his canoe named "Tutakeke-nui," Iro was accompanied by a chief named Makeu, who sailed in a canoe named "Tutakeke-iti." This Makeu was a noted thief, his gods being Uri-kovaro and Mata-tanumi, the deities of thieves. During the voyage, Makeu threw his magic spells over Iro and the people in "Tutakeke-nui," and caused them to fall into a deep sleep; then he transferred Iro and his people and their belongings to "Tutakeke-iti" while Makeu and his people took possession of "Tutakeke-nui" and paddled away with it. Hence arose the saying, "The sleep of Iro on returning from Vavau was (like) falling asleep in winter and awakening in summer."

7. In the Aitutaki version, the reason for Iro's anger at his wife Vai-tu-marie was due to her joking with some women that she enjoyed sleeping with her paramour Taeta more than with Iro. After catching her hand in a canoe lashing, Iro beat her to death with the titia (wooden tool used for lashing) and buried her under the center skid supporting the canoe. His son Tai-marama ran away to the mountains and became a wild man of the woods out of grief for his mother.

8. In the Aitutaki version, the conflict between Iro and Puna is more violent: The Ati-Iro (clan of Iro) took a turtle, which was kapu to the Ati-Puna (clan of Puna). Iro sent his son Tautu to carry a small portion of the turtle to Puna, knowing that his son would be killed in carrying out the mission. Puna's two taunga (priests or wisemen) told Puna, "Do not eat this offering: the rest of the turtle has been consumed by Iro at Motupae." Puna became very angry and killed Tautu, cutting off his head and flinging it on to his rubbish heap of food refuse.

Tautu's spirit debated with Puna over whether Tautu had committed a sin. Puna's wise men cleared Tautu of any wrongdoing since Tautu had not consumed the turtle. Hiro's other son Tai-marama was called to slay the Ati-Puna in revenge for the death of Tautu. Marama told her, "You return and tell Iro to have the canoe Otutai all ready for launching

and to get the Ati-Puna to stand at the side of the canoe opposite to the outrigger to assist at the launching while the Ati-Iro will take the outrigger side. Also to have the morning meal before daybreak. I will be there at sunrise."

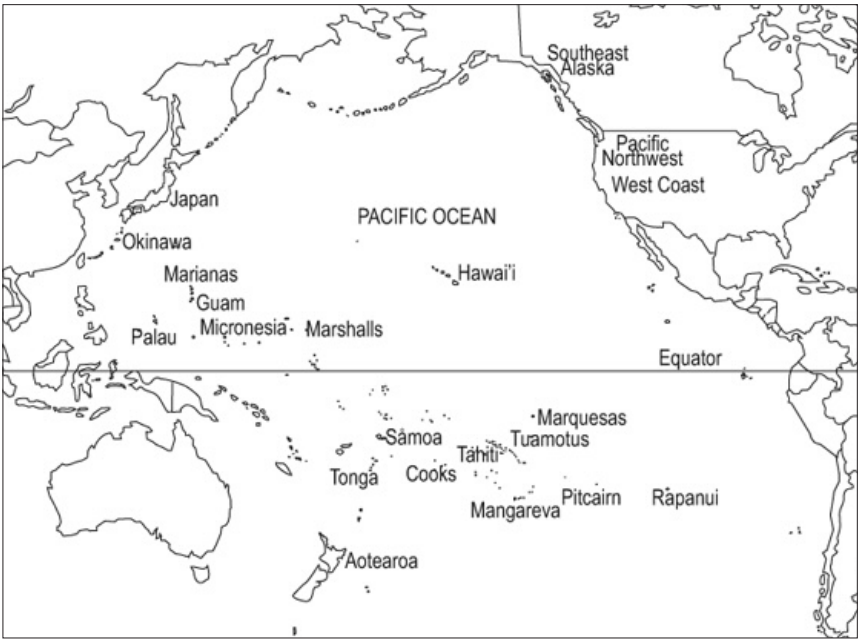
Pio returned to Iro and delivered Marama's message to him, which Iro arranged to have carefully carried out, and on the following morning at break of day his people were all ready for the fray. They fetched the Ati-Puna and placed them on the katea side of the canoe as directed.

At sunrise Marama arrived; he grasped the stern-piece, while the Ati-Iro took the roaa (outrigger) side, and all was in readiness to launch the canoe. This was the song at the moving of the ancient Maori canoe Otutai—

Solo: Launch the canoe Otutai for Iro-nui
Hand the beater, step the mast, the mast Torutatai.
O the multitude of Puna are without.
Chorus: O!
Solo: O the multitude of Iro are within.
Chorus: O!
Solo: Pakiara's black…Pakiara's black…
Chorus: You will die beneath the canoe,
You will be die beneath the canoe.

The Ngati-Puna realized by the insulting burden of the song that they had fallen into a trap, but it was too late. When the canoe was lifted up, Marama overturned it on top of the Ati-Puna. The Ati-Iro had previously hidden their weapons in the bushes nearby, and when the canoe was thrown on to the Ati-Puna, the Ati-Iro seized their spears and slaughtered the Ati-Puna. Only a few of them escaped, fleeing to the ocean in their canoes. The land passed entirely into the hands of the Ati-Iro, hence the name "Marama, the warrior of Enuakura."

9. The Rarotongan version gives the following landmarks associated with Hiro: On the summit of a mountain on Taha'a appears in bold relief the paddle (turned to stone) of Iro's canoe Otutai, the famous vessel itself—now transformed into a rock—reposes at the bottom of the lagoon between Ra'iātea and Taha'a, where it may be seen in calm weather, while the resounding wooden gong of Iro's vessel is represented by a harmonious stone on the small reef-islet Opua at Porapora not far away.



In 1979, at Maeva, Huahine Island, in Tahiti Nui, Bishop Museum archeaologist Yoshihiko Sinoto excavated the remains of an ancient canoe—two 23-foot planks from the hull, a 12-foot steering paddle with a six-foot blade, and a 36-foot mast. The remains were embedded and preserved in swampy land overgrown with hau trees and rushes. The canoe parts were dated between 850-1000 A.D.

Tafa‘i

Teuira Henry

Not long after Tahiti was moved away from Ra‘iātea,[1] there lived in the district of Mahina (Clear-Gray) in Tahiti-To‘erau (North-Tahiti) a fine elegantly formed woman of high rank, whose name was Nona (Of-hushed). She had long carnivorous teeth, and as she had acquired the terrible propensity for cannibalism, which obtained for her the sobriquet of Vahine‘ai-ta‘ata (Man-eating-woman), her husband, who was high chief of the house named Tahiti-To‘erau, forsook her, and she lived alone in her home shaded with coconut trees on her own hereditary land near the sea. There she gave birth to a beautiful little girl, whom she named Hina (Gray) and whom she brought up tenderly, as befitted her rank, concealing from the child the human prey which she procured for herself.

At the foot of the great projecting cliff of Tahara‘a (Barrenness), conspicuous for its red clay, is a great cave bordering on the sea, forming a tunnel open at each end, through which pedestrians can pass at low tide so as to save going round the hill, and it is famed to this day as Nona’s hiding place, where she waylaid passers-by and slew them to eat, sometimes cooking and sometimes devouring them still warm and bloody.

In the days of Nona, people gradually became very scarce in that region, and homes lay mysteriously desolate. But a handsome young man named Mono‘i-here (Favorite-perfumed-oil) had escaped the wily woman, and he had become much attached to her daughter Hina, whose affections he won as she verged to beautiful womanhood. They clandestinely met at a cool sequestered spot, called Oro-fara (Fara-fern), where there is a spring, called Rati (Splash), which watered Hina’s bathing pool—still called Te-hopura‘a-vai-o-Hina (The bathing pool of Hina)—and close by a cave, which in their time it is said, was not known to exist, as at their bidding it opened and closed in the solid rock.

Protecting the Bay of Matavai (Face-of-water) is a broken line of

reefs, called the Chain-of-Light-Rocks (To‘a-tea), and there Nona, who was an expert fisherwoman, frequently went to obtain fish for herself and her child. While she was thus employed the two young people, Mono‘i-here and Hina, met, feeling safe and free. Hina had the habit of carrying a basket of food to her lover when he was concealed in the cave, and in approaching him they would exchange the following passwords:

Hina. “Mono‘i-here is the man, Hina is the woman!”

Mono‘i-here. “Where is your mother, Nona, with long teeth?”

Hina. “She is on the long reef, on the short reef, catching fish for us, my lover. Oh foundation of rock, break open!”

Then the rock would burst open and out would come the lover, and they would pleasantly while the hours away until the time approached for Nona to return home, when Mono‘i-here would either return to the cave or go to his home in the distance, as circumstances guided, always cautiously avoiding an encounter with her.

But there came a time when the mother began to miss the food and so wondered how her daughter could consume so much in her absence, and she determined to solve the mystery. So one day, after cooking their usual supply of food, she feigned indisposition and went to bed, then she snored deeply and appeared to be in the soundest sleep. Finally Nona saw her daughter stealthily approach the food, take out choice morsels, place them in a basket, and go noiselessly out. When Nona saw the course girl was taking she took a short cut, halting here and there to keep sight of her, until she turned up into the shady nook; then Nona, arriving before her, ascended into a pua tree, where she could see and hear unobserved. As Nona had never known of the existence of the closed-in cave, she was soon astonished at what she witnessed, and she repeated to herself the passwords, so as to remember them. She kept motionless until the lovers had held their interview and parted, when she quickly descended from the tree and returned to her bed at home, while her unsuspecting daughter leisurely followed and found things there just as she had left them.

The following day, after partaking of food and putting some by, Nona took leave of her child, saying she was going to prepare torches for night-fishing. But she quickly went to the lovers’ haunt, and standing by the cave she spoke, imitating Hina’s tone as nearly as she could. But Mono‘i-here, detecting the fraud, replied: “You are not Hina; you are Nona the woman with long teeth!”

But she had learned the magical words, and fiendishly said: “Oh

foundation of rock, break open!"

Then the cave opened. She entered quickly, seized the hapless young man, and killed and feasted on him. She looked for his heart but could not find it, and leaving his bones and vitals thrown together she left the cave, which closed after her, and she returned to prepare her torches as she had planned.

Meanwhile, Hina went with her basket to the cave and was surprised when no response came to her from within, and as the rock opened at her bidding she encountered the ghastly spectacle in the cave. What remained of Mono'i-here was still warm, and Hina at once sought for and found the heart, which was still pulsating. This she placed next to her own heart and guided by it went home to act.

In the absence of her mother she got the trunk of a banana tree and laid it in her bed to counterfeit her body, and to simulate a head upon her pillow at one end of it she placed an 'a'ano (coconut-water-bottle). Then she covered all up in her tapa sheet and fled in fear from the home of her childhood, until she arrived at the adjoining district of 'Uporu (Ha'apape or Point Venus). Still guided by the pulsating heart of her lost lover, she stopped at the house of a fine young chief, named No'a (Sweet-odor), who was famed for his hairy though handsome person and who with all his household received her cordially, and she was at rest.

When Nona returned home with her torches she prepared supper, and thinking Hina was having a nap in her bed she called her; but no voice came. After calling several times, Nona became enraged and threatened to eat her daughter. But as there was still no response she furiously exclaimed: "Here I come, O Hina; will devour you!"

So saying, she rushed to the bed, laid hold of the banana effigy of her daughter, and bit into it through the sheet, when, to her great surprise, she found that the girl had outwitted her, and she exclaimed: "Ah, you have escaped!"

Early on the following day, Nona set out to recover her daughter. Ascertaining the course she had taken, Nona went on and on enquiring for Hina until she also arrived at the house of the hairy chief, No'a. When she saw Hina, she made a rush to seize her, but the chief seeing how terror stricken the girl was, and hearing her say that Nona was a savage woman and would kill her, he intercepted Nona's grasp. Then with muscular strength, Nona grappled to strangle him; but he overpowered and strangled her and so ended the life of the famous Nona of the cave of Tahara'a.

In course of time, Hina who married her protector and deliverer, gave birth to a son, who was named Pu-aʻa-riʻi-tahi (Cluster-of-first-small-roots).

Another son, named Hema (Deceived), followed and she had no more children. The two boys became fine young men, and they were adepts in surf-riding. One day as they were preparing to go out for their sport, the mother asked the elder son, Pu-aʻa-riʻi tahi, to dress her hair. But he did not comply, and she said, "Ah, your wife will not be a woman of distinction."

Then, as Hema came by, she asked him to dress her hair, which he readily did. As he combed out her long glossy locks and braided them, he discovered a louse and taking it out he showed it to her. She said: "Your wife will be a notable woman."

As time went on, Pu-aʻa-riʻi-tahi took to himself a wife named Te-ʻura (Redness), and she bore him five sons, named, Arihi-nui-apua (Great-enchanted-cord), Ta-oe-a-pua (With-deviation-of-dolphin-head), Orooro-i-pua (Rub-dolphin-head), Te-mata-tuiʻau-ia-roʻo (The-changing-eye-of fame), and Te-mata-aʻa-raʻi (The-eye-that-measured-the sky).

The son Hema obtained a goddess for a wife in the following manner:

One day his mother told him to go in the early morning and dig a hole in the eastern bank of Vai-poʻopoʻo (Hollow-river) at Haʻapape (Point Venus), in which he must conceal himself, and then he would see a beautiful woman from the netherlands who would come to a pool close by to bathe. He would find her very strong, and so he must catch her from behind unawares by her hair and before putting her down carry her past four houses in bringing her home.

So at daybreak Hema went and did as directed, and just as the first rays of the sun appeared he completed his hiding place and concealed himself within it. In a little while he saw approaching from an opening in the earth the goddess described. She quietly entered her bathing place, dived and swam in the water, and when she had bathed herself and wrung out her long flowing hair, which covered her graceful form, she stood upon the bank adjusting it close by Hema with her back turned towards him. Then he approached her, quickly twisted some hair around his wrist and thus secured her as she strongly endeavored to escape him. He at last bore her up in his arms and was carrying her homewards when, after passing two houses, she begged to be released. So he let her go, thinking she would walk by his side. But in a moment

she sped away and disappeared through the opening in the ground which closed after her.

Hema returned home dejected, and when he told his mother what had happened she told him to go again the following morning for the goddess, taking heed not to release her until they had passed four houses in coming home. He could not eat that day from overanxiety to obtain the beautiful wife, and before daybreak he was again in his hiding place by the river awaiting her return. She came earlier than on the previous day intending to avoid the intruder, and hastily she bathed herself and stood again upon the bank near Hema, who then caught her as before and carried her, struggling to be released, all the way home.

Finding that the people of the upper world had seen her in company with Hema and that they regarded her as his wife and becoming attached to him and all his, she consented to remain with them, and she, a goddess married Hema a mortal man, according to the religious rites of their time. The name she received in this upper world was Hina-tahutahu (Hina-the-magician), because of her supernatural origin and her power to do many wonderful things, such as healing the sick, reading people's thoughts, and foretelling things to happen. She bore Hema two children, Arihi-nui-apua (Great-enchanted-net-cord) and a giant red-headed (‘ehu) child, who was hairy like his grandfather and whose names were Ta-fa‘i-‘iri-‘ura (By-revelation-the-red-skinned), Vai-ta-fa‘i (Fixed-by-revelation), and Ta-fa‘i-uri-i-tetua-i-Havai‘i (By-revelation-piloting-in-the-sea-of-Havai‘i), evolutions of appellations that were caused by the development of circumstances, but all of which have resolved themselves in Tahiti and other groups into the name Tafa‘i simply.

At an early age Tafa‘i showed that he inherited from his mother supernatural powers and that he was in touch with the gods; the elder son was simply an earthly chief and was obscured by his illustrious brother. The early childhood of the two boys was pleasantly spent with their cousins and other children, their chief amusement being top spinning, sailing little canoes ih shallow water, light ball playing, and bathing and swimming.

But a time came when they wanted new games. Tafa‘i's cousins made balls of clay, which they rolled along the ground, and the first one whose ball cracked in revolving became the loser in the play. So Tafa‘i asked his mother how to make solid balls, and she directed him to get fine-grained sand from the sea to mix with the clay and then to dry the

balls well before using them. This he did, and when he went to play with them, his cousins cried: “Ah, dear Tafaʻi, come and let go yours.”

But he answered: “No, the first must be first, and the last must come in last.” So they rolled their balls in regular turns until all were cracked but Tafaʻi’s and he became the winner. So it happened that to the great vexation of the others he always won the game.

Then they took a fancy to the game called totoie (toy canoe), in which was used a stick sharpened at one end, and steadied at the other with a rudder made from the rib of a coconut leaf. The toy was placed on the surface of the waves a little way out in the sea, whence it floated to the shore, and the winner in this amusement was the one whose totoie arrived on shore first. Tafai’s mother directed him to make his toy of a piece of convolvulus stem, which being very light proved a great success, and again he came out victorious. Then his cousins were so vexed and jealous that they fell upon him and stunned him, so that they thought he was dead, and they buried him in the sand. But his mother, knowing at once what had happened, went to the spot where he lay apparently lifeless and resuscitated him. But when questioned about the matter, he tried to screen his cousins.

So it happened that as Tafaʻi grew up he excelled in everything he did; and that out of spite and jealousy his cousins often used violence upon his person and left him as dead just as often his mother rescued him and restored him to life, and he never complained. At last his father, Hema, becoming aggrieved at the unkind treatment of his son by his nephews, took leave of this world and went down to Pō (Darkness) to live.

When Tafaʻi was still a youth, his mother imparted to him all her magical powers, which he received by opening his mouth over the crown of her head, and then he felt prompted to do great deeds and to travel, which his mother let him do with suitable men.

At length Tafaʻi reached man’s estate. A great red man was he, modeled by the gods. He had bright curly auburn hair, his head and shoulders towered above all other tall men in Tahiti, he had penetrating brown eyes, his hands were large and strong, and his fingernails were long and pointed. Whenever he walked his majestic tread left footprints upon the most hardened ground. He became famous throughout the land for his wisdom and skill in all he did. Without tuition he excelled in every art of his time, and his bravery and generosity won for him the respect and love of all in Tahiti, so that he was unanimously elected toa-upoʻo-tu (chief-warrior) by all the warrior chiefs contemporary with

him.

Tafaʻi ’s first great deed for the good of his country was the cutting of the sinews of this fish, Tahiti, to render it stable, and after accomplishing this he said they must cut the sinews of all the islands around Tahiti, which were detached parts of the fish, and that they must also go on and draw up new land from the sea. So a great double canoe was built, which he named the Anuanua (Rainbow), and valiant navigators and a priest were chosen to accompany him. He himself was the pilot and astronomer. He took his taʻo (an ironwood shoulder spear 12 feet long and pointed on both ends), which no other man in Tahiti could lift, and his paddle, which no one else could wield; and he prepared a great long line of roʻa, attached to an immense wooden fishhook, which was filled with magic at his touch. His men prepared their fishhooks and lines, which he also enchanted, and after the usual religious ceremonies they set out to sea.

They went northwest to little Tahiti (Moʻorea-the-offshoot), and they thrust their spears into its quivering sinews and made it stable; they went southwest to Maiaʻo-iti (Little-claw), which had fallen away from Moʻorea, and soon made it stable. They went north of Tahiti and found the islets of Tetiaroa (Standing-afar-off) struggling to rise above the foaming sea. So they threw down their hooks and drew them up one by one. Then with their spears they cut the sinews and fixed the islets in their present positions. They went on eastward and found that Me-tu (Standing-thing; the island of Metiʻa) was already fixed in its place. Then Tafaʻi said they must go to other regions and fish up land, and they came to the Tai-o-vaʻua (Shaven-sea) and there beneath the mighty breakers, found the extensive Tuamotu Archipelago, which they fished up and which ever since has remained as beautiful atolls and islets fringed with beds of coral of all hues and with pearl oysters. To these he added the high Mangarevan group and other hilly islands eastward that were also struggling to rise.

They went on exploring the trackless ocean northward and drawing up islands, which they discovered by observing the sea dancing over them, until at last they perceived a mighty commotion apart from all others, and on approaching it they found the Hawaiian group all huddled close together beneath the surface. Tafaʻi first drew up Ai-hi (Bit-in-fishing, now called Hawaii), whose high twin mountains rose from their watery bed and went on rising until they reached an amazing height and were lost among the clouds, and whose shores extended

beyond the horizon. Owing to the great volcano perpetually burning, this island was afterward named Havaiʻi-ʻā (Burning Hawaiʻi) by the Tahitians to distinguish it from the island of Havaiʻi to the south. Tafaʻi next drew up Maui, which he named Maui after the hero, Maui of eight heads, who detached the sky from the earth. This island also rose to a wonderful height. So they went on until all the islands were drawn up, and then those intrepid navigators went south and returned with people to dwell on the beautiful new land, bringing with them their gods, their chiefs and bread-fruit and other plants.[2]

At length the emigrants of the north and their kindred in the south, regretted that they were so widely separated from each other, and Tafaʻi, who had returned home, conceived a plan to remove the Hawaiian islands to the south. He and his seaman prepared strong ropes, and invoking the gods to their aid they attached each island to the canoe. When all was made ready, Tafaʻi warned his people to be guarded against breaking the sacredness of the spell that was to pervade their great undertaking. No one must speak or look back when in motion, on pain of displeasing and losing the aid of the gods. The great canoe moved off drawing the ropes, united in one, each man plying his paddle and looking steadily ahead, when soon a magical spell caused the islands to yield and follow in a most orderly manner, and onward they went.

Shouts of applause which the navigators were rejoiced to hear, arose from the land but they swerved not from their purpose and still kept silence. All nature chimed in rejoicing, and above the sound of the steady breeze and rippling sea arose the chorus of people and birds singing, cocks crowing, hens cackling, dogs barking and occasionally pigs grunting, while overhead the sea gulls screeched their contentment. Still the mariners did not look back, nor did they speak, and the islands moved on.

But finally the sound of hula drums and flutes arose, with songs of rejoicing from the people, and this so stirred the hearts of the seamen that all except Tafaʻi could no longer contain themselves, and with one common impulse they stood upon their seats and looking back began to dance and sing also, when suddenly the charm was broken, the ropes snapped, and they were forsaken by the gods! As a result of the impetus, before the islands became stationary, Havaiʻi-ʻā went forwards and Kauaʻi and Niʻihau backwards, the middle islands remained close together, and detachments from the island coasts formed islets. In vain did the seamen and people offer invocations and oblations to the gods

to return, nor did the prayers of Tafaʻi, who was blameless, prevail. So they were obliged to abandon the enterprise, and the Hawaiian islands have remained forever an isolated group, standing grandly away in the north.[3]

The next great thing Tafaʻi determined to do was to explore the interior of the earth and recover his father from the region called Pō. His mother agreed to show him the road down, and his brother, Arihi-nui-apua, begged to be allowed to accompany him, and no fear of hardship on their way could dissuade him from his purpose, as he had smitings of conscience for having been one who had caused his father to leave this world.

Hina-tahutahu caused the earth to open for the travellers, who after passing through long tunnels at last came to an open place where they saw a house, which was inhabited by an old blind woman called Uhi (Yam). By this time Arihi-nui-apua, who unlike Tafaʻi was merely mortal, became very tired and hungry. So they went quietly into the house, where they found Uhi setting out her food to eat, talking to herself as she did so. She laid together two pieces of breadfruit, two pieces of taro, two packages of pota (taro-top-spinach), two cups of coconut sauce, and two cups of water. Then as she was eating Arihi-nui-apua took one portion of each thing before her and ate also, so that when she felt for more she found nothing and at last exclaimed: "Who is this little maggot that has come here to Pō?"

Tafaʻi answered: "It is I, Tafaʻi."

The old lady said: "Ah, be seated properly."

She took a beautiful thing that was covered with ʻura (red) feathers, which Tafaʻi motioned his brother not to touch. This was her fishhook, which was attached to magical cord, and as she threw it out Tafaʻi evaded it; but Arihi, fascinated with its beauty, picked it up, and as she pulled it in, caught him under the arm. She drew him to her like a fish, and he drew back with all his might, running in centrifugal motion. Feeling grieved for his brother, Tafaʻi exclaimed: "Oh Uhi, set aside your fish lest the great shark approach you! His friend [shark] is in the sea."

There were sharks and whales in the sea and a great octopus in a grotto ornamented with trumpet shells.

But Uhi replied exultingly: "He shall not escape. This is the fishhook Puru-i-te-maumau (Sodden-by-holding-fast), and the line, Shark-in-the-Milky-Way, not that of Hina."

Then Tafa‘i seized the line and rescued the prisoner, and the old woman finding her hook loose exclaimed: “Ah! There is a person here by me, can you restore my sight?”

Tafa‘i replied: “I can restore it.” So saying, he took a coconut and cast it on her eyes, and immediately her sight was restored.

The old woman saw the young men for the first time and expressed her pleasure at seeing them. When she inquired what service she could render them for this great cure Tafa‘i asked her to tell them where his father dwelt and what she knew about him. Uhi replied that Hema dwelt farther on in a forest, where the gods heaped their garbage, that they had taken out his eyes and given them as toys to the girls who braided mats for the orators; and that they had filled his eye sockets with excrements of birds. Then she charged two little attendants to accompany the two brothers, who went to rescue the poor man. Finally they arrived at the woody region where Hema was, and quickly snatching him up Tafa‘i bore him away in his arms with all the speed that his wide strides could give and before any of the gods were aware of it the three fugitives from the lower regions arrived safely up in this world of light. Tafa‘i bathed and clothed and fed the unfortunate Hema, and though blind, Hema was made happy with his wife and children, with whom he then found his brother’s family on most friendly terms.

Some years had elapsed after the travels of Tafa‘i when the fame reached Tahiti of Te-‘ura-i-te-ra‘i (Redness-of-the-sky), a beautiful princess in south Havai‘i-‘ā, who was to be obtained as a wife only by some valiant hero. Tafai’s cousins, the five sons of Pu-a‘a-ri‘i-tahi, decided to go as aspirants for her hand, so they prepared a double canoe for that purpose. Tafa‘i told his mother that he wished to go also, and so she took a coconut blossom sheath and laid it upon the sea, and it developed into a beautiful single canoe, which they named Niu (Coconut) and which was soon made ready for the voyage. His mother told him that his ancestral shark, Tere-mahia-ma-hiva (Speedy-travelling-with-fleet), would accompany him, and that he should address it as his guardian ancestor, which he agreed to do.

The two canoes set out together. The double one was well manned with seamen, a pilot, and an astronomer; the single one had Tafa‘i alone, escorted by the faithful shark, and it soon went far ahead of the other. Finally when the five brothers approached the shores of Havai‘i-‘a, they saw awaiting them their cousin Tafa‘i, who was the first to greet them on landing. The royal family of South Havai‘i-‘a was soon

apprised of the arrival of the young chiefs who had come to offer themselves to the princess, and they were well received by them.

In the course of a few days the prowess of the young Tahitians was put to the test, and the beautiful young Hawaiian princess was herself chosen to be umpire for them. They were all girded and armed with spears for the encounter. First they were told to pull up by the roots an ‘awa tree which was possessed by a demon, and which had caused the death of all who had attempted to disturb it. Each man was to come forward according to his age. Beginning with the eldest, Te-ura-i-terai said: “O Arihi-nui-apua of Tahiti, come and pull up this ‘awa, and chew it to drink and intoxicate Havai‘i.”

He went forward and thrust his spear in the stump of the tree, which like a living thing immediately darted forth its roots and pierced and killed him. Then came forward the second brother, Ta-oe-a-pua, who met with the same fate, and so it was with the three older brothers, Orooro-i-pua, Te-mata-tauia-ia-ro‘o, and Te-mata-a‘a-ra‘i. Seeing that they were all dead, the princess said to her parents: “That will do perhaps.”

But the parents replied that the last man must try. Then it was Tafa‘i’s turn and the princess said: “O Tafa‘i, pause! Tafa‘i with red skin, who raised up Hawai‘i, born to Hema, my sympathies! Come and pull up this ‘awa, and chew it to drink and intoxicate Hawai‘i.”

The noble red giant advanced undaunted and thrust his spear at arm’s length into the stump of the ‘awa. As the roots moved forwards to pierce him, he held tight the end of the spear, and they twisted around it like the arms of a devilfish, while he pushed the spear farther and farther into the taproot until the whole plant yielded. He drew it out, raised it still attached to the spear, beat and bruised the roots until they became powerless, and laid it down. Then he turned to his cousins lying lifeless upon the ground, and to the amazement of all the spectators he restored them to life.

Soon the Tahitians were ready to make the drink from the ‘awa roots, and as it was customary to have a feast on such an occasion, they asked for a pig and necessary accompaniments. To this the royal family willingly agreed, and the pig they were to have was the renowned Mo‘iri (Whole swallower), a monster that swallowed live things whole and whose fame had long ago reached Tahiti. The slaying of this scourge to humanity was to be the last test of dexterity to which the young men were to be put; and they were to advance again according to their ages. So the young men, girded for the encounter, stood with their

spears, and with sennit in their hands to tie the pig. The princess called out: "O Moʻiri, be sennit bound!"

Then rushing out of the woods, amid a cloud of dust which flew up under its heavy tread, came the terrible snorting and grunting monster.

As the first champion dashed forward to catch the feet and throw the pig down, he was swallowed whole, and one after the other of his brothers shared the same fate, their spears making no impression upon the thick hide of the animal. But as Tafaʻi advanced, he thrust his spear down into the throat of the pig as it opened its great jaws to swallow him. The pig was slain, and immediately Tafaʻi caused it to render up his five cousins, whom he once more restored to life. A great shout of applause rent the air, and Tafaʻi was unanimously acknowledged to be the greatest hero that Havaiʻi-ʻā had ever seen. The pig was the principal feature of the great feast that followed, and all ate of it. The ʻawa that the Tahitians made was pronounced excellent and it rejoiced the hearts of the drinkers.

Finally the time came for the hero of the day to claim his bride. The king and queen looked expectantly at Tafaʻi and the princess, who had conceived great admiration for him and was willing to give him her hand. But what was their surprise when in the name of himself and his cousins he bade them all farewell, saying: "Now fare you well. We are returning to our own land."

Then the Hawaiians of the South realized that they had offended the Tahitians by their rigid treatment, and they could not prevail upon their visitors to change their purpose. Soon the Tahitians departed in the same way that they had come.

When they returned home after their fruitless errand, the Tahitians no longer aspired to seeking famed beauties of other lands, but took suitable wives from among their own countrywomen. Tafaʻi married a fine young chiefess of North Tahiti, named Hina (Gray), famed for her beautiful raven hair, which when let loose, flowed down in waves to her feet and covered her graceful, majestic form; and their attachment for each other was strong and lasting.

Tafaʻi was prompt to go wherever duty called him in his own land and also in other lands and, as old records everywhere show, was beloved for his goodness and kind, generous deeds. On one occasion when he returned home from a long voyage he found to his great grief that his wife was dead. She had just suddenly died, and her body, still warm, was lying in state upon an altar in the ancestral marae (place of

worship), guarded by the priest and elders of the family. Soon, in his sorrow, he determined to contend for her even with the gods! So he inquired of the priest whither her spirit had fled, and he told Tafaʻi that it had left their sacred precincts and was now with the spirits of other departed ones at Tataa about twenty miles west of ʻUporu, which was their place of rendezvous on Tahiti before taking flight for Paradise or Hades in Raʻiātea.

Tafaʻi lost no time in seizing his great paddle and launching out into the sea his single canoe (Niu); and then he swiftly darted over the smooth water within the friendly reef and arrived at Paʻea just at dusk, the right time to meet the souls departing. There he found that his wife's spirit had left some time before for Mount Rotui (Soul-despatching) on Moʻorea, whither the spirits went to take their final departure for Te-mehani (The-heat) in Raʻiātea, which was the last place whence they could return to this world.

Onwards he sped across the channel to Mount Rotui, towering steep and high up into the clouds, and soon he was upon its summit. But there too he found that his lost Hina had gone on some time before! With unshakeable purpose, Tafaʻi descended the mountain and again took to his canoe, and in the dim light of the waning moon, aided by a favorable breeze, he made his canoe almost fly across the wide channel that separates the windward islands from the leeward group. Then he took the shortest route up to Te-mehani and he did not stop until he arrived at the spot on the mountain plateau where the roads radiated, one to the cliff on the right, called the "Stone of Life," from which spirits ascended to Rohutu-noʻanoʻa (Paradise-of-sweet-odor), somewhere up in cloudland above the highest mountains of Raʻiātea and the other to the cone on the left, from which they descended down in the yawning crater of Te-mehani, which led to Pō (Darkness).

The moon was almost setting and the morning star was heralding the day when Tafaʻi arrived at that place and was met by the god Tū-ta-horoa (Stand-to-permit), who guarded the roads. Tafaʻi inquired if Hina, his wife, had passed by, and to his great relief the god replied that she had not yet come. But he told Tafaʻi to be quick and conceal himself in the bushes in a precipitous nook close by and that he must rest to gain strength for his undertaking to capture her in her flight, as that was the last place whence spirits could be recalled to this world. Breathlessly Tafaʻi seated himself in his hiding place, and just as he recovered breath from his late exertions he heard leaves rustling a little way off, and the god told him to be ready, as Hina had just arrived.

Soon Tafaʻi perceived the tall, familiar form of his wife with her hair streaming down her back, and as she arrived upon the ridge of the rock by which he stood she drew back as she scented a human being. Just as she was about to ascend into the air to fly to the Stone of Life, where she would have escaped him, he made a desperate leap up onto the ledge and into the air and caught her by her flowing hair with his long fingernails. Hina struggled to be released, as she was intent on going to the happy spirit world, but her husband held her fast, and when Tū-ta-horoa told her that her time had not yet come to leave this world she was prevailed upon to remain longer with her husband. So they returned to ʻUporu, and as soon as Hina re-entered her body, which was still well preserved, and opened her mortal eyes, there was great rejoicing in their home and in all the district over the safe return of Tafaʻi and his wife from the border of the spirit world.

It is not recorded in Tahiti that Tafaʻi ever again went away from his native land, but it is stated that he and his wife lived long and happily together and that to them was born a son whom they named Vahi-e-roa (Far-off-place), probably in commemoration of the long voyages of Tafaiʻi to strange lands.

In the manuscript dictionary by Mr. Orsmond, under the heading of the name Tafaʻi are found these words: "A god was Tafaʻi of red skin, who raised up Havaiʻi. Charming is the legend of Tafaʻi." In Tahiti his memory is perpetuated in the form of the beautiful club moss (Licopodium clavatum), named rimarima Tafaʻi (fingers of Tafaʻi), which is said to have sprung from his fingers after he left his earthly body and which grows prolifically among the ferns over all the islands; the spores of the plant are called Maiuu Tafaʻi (fingernails of Tafaʻi), which they are said to resemble.

Notes

This Tahitian version of the story of Tafaʻi is from Teuira Henry's *Ancient Tahiti* (552-565).

The story of Hema and Tafaʻi is told throughout Polynesia. He is known as Kahaʻi in Hawaiʻi, Tawhaki in Aotearoa, Tahaki in the Tuamotus, Taʻaki in Rarotonga, and Tafaʻi in Sāmoa. (See Beckwith, pp. 238-258, for summaries of the variants of this tradition.)

In the Hawaiian ʻUlu-Hema genealogy, Hema is said to be the

ancestor of Maui chiefs. He was the son of ‘Aikanaka (“Man-eater”; cf. Nona, the cannibal grandmother of Hema in the Tahitian version). He was raised in Hāna, Maui. A chant tells of his birth and his deeds. After the birth of a son named Kaha‘i (Tafa‘i), Hema sailed to Kahiki to get the ‘ape‘ula (red tapa; or apo‘ula, wreath of red feathers) for his son. During the voyage, Hema was seized by a bird and died in Kahiki. Kaha‘i sailed in search of his father, learned of his death, and returned to Hawai‘i (Kamakau 139-143).

1. The story of how the upwind islands of Tahiti Nui move away from Ra‘iātea is told in Peter H. Buck’s *Vikings of the Pacific*: According to one tradition, Tahiti and the other upwind islands in the Society group were created from the land between the islands of Ra‘iātea and Taha‘a. The story goes that in preparation for a ceremony for ‘Oro, the war-god, kapu were imposed on the the district of Opoa: no cock could crow, no dog bark; no person or pig could leave its dwellings. The wind died off and the sea grew calm. However, a young girl named Tere-he went bathing in a river. The gods drowned her for breaking the kapu. A giant eel swallowed her and was possessed by her soul. The angry eel tore up the land between Ra‘iātea and Taha‘a and swam to the east, becoming the windward islands of Tahiti; its back fin formed the mountain of Orohena, which dominates the western end of Tahiti. Another fin fell off and became the island of Mo‘orea. Other bits of the fish became the islands of Meti‘a, Te Tiaroa, and Mai‘ao-iti.

Buck interprets this story as meaning that the people who settled the windward islands of Tahiti had fled Ra‘iātea because of the tyrannous, oppressive rule of the priests of ‘Oro. The drowning of Tere-he may have been an actual event that caused her people to flee.

2. The tradition of Hawai‘i-loa by Kepelino and S.M. Kamakau (Fornander, Vol. VI, 266-281) attributes the discovery and settlement of Hawai‘i to a mariner named Hawai‘i-loa. A second version of the Hawai‘iloa tradition is found in *Kepelino’s Traditions of Hawaii* (Honolulu: Bishop Museum, 1932, 74-77) under the title “Hawaii-nui.” A discussion of this tradition is found in “The Legend of Hawaii-Loa” by Bruce Cartwright (*Journal of the Polynesian Society*, Vol. 38: 1929, 105-121).

3. In Hawai‘i the story is told of the demi-god Māui’s attempt to pull together the islands of Kaua‘i and O‘ahu—the two major islands

that are the farthest apart.). Like Tafa‘i, Māui failed because a helper (or his brothers) looked back after being told not to. (For the Māui story, see J. Gilbert. McAllister’s *Archaeology of Oahu*. Honolulu: Bishop Museum, 1933; 126-7; Lyle A. Dickey’s “Stories of Wailua, Kauai” in *Hawaiian Historical Society, Twenth-fifth Annual Report*, Honolulu, 1917; pp. 17-18; and Thomas Thrum’s *More Hawaiian Folk Tales*, Chicago, 1923; 248-260.

Polynesia, in the Eastern Central Pacific Ocean

Tangiia and Tutapu

Te Ariki-Tara-are

When Tangiia was born his grandfather, Ka‘u-kura, gave him the name of Rangi. When Tangiia’s uncle Pou-vananga-roa learned that his sister Ka‘u-ngaki had given birth to a son, he adopted the boy and renamed him Tangiia-nui. The uncle also adopted Tutapu, the son of his other sister Maonga.

Pou-vananga-roa appointed Maono, his eldest son, to be ariki, or head chief, of Tahiti; Tutapu was made an ariki of Iva (Hiva, or the Marquesas); Tangiia was made a tavana, or minor chief, of Tahiti.

Tangiia was unhappy with his appointment, so he seized the insignia of the ariki at the marae of Avarua and drove Maono away to the mountains. The village and its share of kuru (‘ulu, or breadfruit) now became his. Tangiia’s younger brothers waited for their share of land and power to be distributed to them, but nothing was given.

Dissension also arose between Tangiia and Tutapu over a stream, Vai-iria, a sacred stream of Tangiia’s. When Tutapu bathed in this stream, Tangiia attacked him. Tangiia’s teeth were broken and the plumes of the people of ‘Avaiki were trampled. The two cousins also fought over rights to two sea creatures, the raratea (white-finned shark) and the onu (turtle). Tutapu insisted that when a shark was killed the head belonged to him, while the tail was for Tangiia. Tangiia disagreed, and the two cousins separated—Tutapu returned to Iva, while Tangiia went to Ma‘uke [in the Cook Islands] to visit two sisters, Pua-tara and Moe-tuma, the daughters of Tata-uru-ariki and his wife Te Puaranga-uta.

Tangiia arrived in the district of Utaki, where a koutu (sacred meeting place) named Rangi-manuka is located. He looked for the two sisters and found them beating bark cloth. He composed a love song to them [and slept with them] before returning to Tahiti.

In Tahiti, Rakanui, his sister, asked him if he had taken the kuru (breadfruit tribute), not knowing that Tutapu had taken it to Iva. Tangiia got angry and snatched a portion of the turtle from the hand of his sister’s husband Maa. An ill-feeling arose between Tangiia and Maa. Rakanui took a canoe name Kai-oi and departed with Maa for the island

of Huahine.

Tangiia now dwelt in Tahiti for some years, until he decided to outfit a canoe named Tuna-moe-vai, a name given by his grandfather Ka‘ukura. After the canoe was ready, Tangiia named it Taki-pu (later it was renamed Takitumu) and then visited ‘Avaiki (Savai‘i in Sāmoa) and many other islands. On his return to Tahiti, he sent Tino-rere to Ma‘uke to get his children [by the two sisters Pua-tara and Moe-tuma].

When Tangiia returned to Tahiti from his voyages, he found Tutapu had arrived from Iva to make war and to secure the celebrated weapon named Te Amio-enua from Pou-vananga-roa and the rara-roroa (a tribute of some kind; perhaps human sacrifice, which in Tahiti was called te avae roroa—“the long-legged fish”). But Tangiia refused to give up the weapon and the two “fish.” Tutapu then demanded the rara-kuru (breadfruit tribute) and this Tangiia conceded in order to pacify his brother.

But Tutapu was not satisfied and a war broke out. Tutapu and his army retired to Tautira [a district of east Tahiti], and Tangiia and his army went to Puna-auia [a district of west Tahiti]. Tutapu was winning the war, so Tangiia gathered his people, prepared a canoe, and launched it, placing on board all their property, including the gods Tonga-iti, Rongo-ma-Tāne, Rua-nuku, Tū, and Tangaroa, along with the chief’s seat named Kai-au-unga. Two of the gods had been taken by Tutapu—Rongo-ma-Uenga and Marumamao.

Once his canoe was anchored offshore as a means of escape, Tangiia went to fight with Tutapu again. On a mountain, Tangiia’s two children, Pou-te-anuanua and Motoro, were trapped by a fire set by Tutapu’s men. Pou-te-anuanua was burned to death. The goddess Taa-kura descended on a southeast wind, placed a cloak over Motoro, and took him to Mangaia [Southern Cook Islands], where he was deified.

After the disappearance of his sons, Tangiia fled to his canoe and for some time gazed at the burning land and lamented his losses:

Great is my love for my land Tahiti,
That I am leaving,
Great is my love for my sacred meeting place at Pureora,
That I am leaving,
Great is my love for my drinking springs,
Vai-kura-a-mata and Marama-ata-kai,

That I am leaving,
My bathing places, Vai-iria and Vai-te-pai,
That I am leaving,
My own district, Puna-auia and Pape‘ete
That I am leaving,
For my mountains, Tikura-marumaru
And Aorangi, that I am leaving,
And for my dear children
Pou-te-anuanua and Motoro now dead.
Alas! Alas! O my children!
My children O! Alas!
O Pou-te-anuanua! Alas!
O Motoro O! O Motoro!

Two of Tangiia’s men were sent back to get a wreath and some red berries and a certain white tapa used at the marae; they also stole the god Ronga-ma-Uenga from Tutapu. To get this god back, Tutapu pursued Tangiia relentlessly over the seas.

Voyages

Tangiia sailed west to ‘Avaiki (the ancestral homeland), still lamenting the loss of his children and his home. His chief warrior and navigator was Pai, to whom he gave the name Tei-vao-ariki.

Tangiia arrived in ‘Avaiki during ceremonies for the appointment of a chief and the feast of takurua, or presentation of the first fruits to the gods. He told the gods that he left his homeland after the war with Tutapu “over the government, the position of ariki, the fish-tribute, the turtle-tribute, the shark-tribute, the human-tribute, and the weapon Te Amio-enua.” The gods promised to give him mana so that he would not be defeated in battle and to set aside for him a land named Tumu-te-varovaro (the ancient name of Rarotonga), where he would live until his death. Tangiia begged the gods to join his expedition and the following gods consented—Tangaroa and his company; Tū-te-rangi-marama and his company; Tū-tavake; Rua-i-te-kari, Kau-kura, Mumai-io; Rua-te-atonga; Ari; Tupua-nui; Taakura; Kura-akaipo; Tonga-iti; Rangi-puta-rua; Ai-mario; Maru-mamao. Tangiia then begged the gods for all the things connected with the takurua festival, including the musical instruments and the dance postures. They consented.

Tangiia then sailed east from ʻAvaiki, stopping at Uea (Wallis Island), Kuporu (ʻUpolu in Sāmoa), and Iti (Tahiti). There he met Iro (Hiro) and asked for Iro's son, who would be made chief (ariki) of Tangiia's people since Tangiia's two sons had been killed by Tutapu. Hiro agreed and revealed that his son was on Rapa (Easter Island).[1]

Tangiia sailed to Rapa-nui (Easter Island), which name was given to distinguish it from Rapa-iti, an island southeast of Rarotonga. When the canoe arrived at Rapa-nui, they found Iro's son, Taputapuātea, diving for shellfish on the reef. The child was taken on board the canoe, which then proceeded to Moʻorea, looking for Iro, but he was not there.

The canoe then sailed to Huahine. Tangiia met his brother-in-law Maa and his sister Rakanui, who at first threatened to cook him in an oven (imu); but the two were reconciled and Tangiia related to her the story of his war with Tutapu and his voyage to ʻAvaiki. Rakanui asked to see a ceremonial dance he brought back from ʻAvaiki and he consented.

After the dance was performed, Rakanui tried to persuade Tangiia to remain on Huahine—he on one side of the island, and she on the other side. But he replied, "No! I cannot remain. I must go to Tumu-te-varovaro (Rarotonga), which Tonga-iti has told me of. I am going there to live until I die." Tangiia told his sister of his plan to make Iro's son Taputapuātea ariki of his people. Rakanui was opposed at first, then approved, and new names were given to the boy—Te Ariki-upoko-tini (ruler of many people) and Ta-i-te-ariki. Then Rakanui gave her canoe to Tangiia, saying "Here is a second hull for your canoe." When this canoe, named Kai-oi, was delivered to him, it was taken to the seashore and joined to Tangiia's canoe to make a purua, or double-hulled canoe. The work was completed by the navigator Tamarua-pai. Then all of Rakanui's property was taken on board, and Rakanui, her husband Maa, and their children joined Tangiia's party. For his work in joining the two canoes, Pai received the name "Purua."

News was received that Tutapu was near; so the expedition left Huahine for Porapora. When it arrived there, the expedition began a ceremony to consecrate Iro's son as ariki, but before the scarlet-feathered belt was girded on, Tutapu arrived.

The expedition left Borabora and sailed for Rangi-ātea (Raʻiātea), where Tangiia's canoe and Tutapu's canoe coasted along together. Those on Tutapu's canoe shouted "Give up my god! Give up my god!" [The god Rongo-ma-Uenga, taken from Tutapu in Tahiti.] Then night

fell, and a gust of wind arose; the canoes were hidden from each other and went their separate ways.

Tangiia now returned to Iti (Tahiti). On arrival all hands were ordered ashore the better to count the crew and passengers; 200 men were assigned to the katea (the main hull) and the women and children were assigned to the ama (the other hull). Then the expedition visited many islands, even those island toward the rising sun, exulting the fame of the canoe now called Takipu [and later renamed Takitumu]. At an island called Maketu [Ma‘uke in the southern Cook Islands; or one of the Tuamotus; or Me‘etia in the Society Islands], they met the chief Karika, who hailed from Manu‘a Island in Sāmoa. On sighting a canoe, two of Tangiia men climbed the mast to identify it. They reported, “It is Te Tai-tonga! [another name for Karika], and you will be killed by him!”

“How many men does he have?” asked Tangiia.

“A great many!”

“What should we do?”

“You must give up the rangi-ei (the red feathers) you are wearing on your head” [that is, acknowledge Karika’s supremacy].

Soon Karika’s vessel drew up to Tangiia’s and Karika boarded Tangiia’s canoe. Tangiia had already sent below all the able-bodied men, leaving none but slaves, children, and the decrepit on the deck of the vessel, so that Karika might not see how many men he had. Tu-iti and Nukua-ki-roto now urged, “Give up your rangi!” So Tangiia took the red plume from his head and was about to hand it to Karika, when Pou-te-are, who opposed giving the chieftainship to Karika, rushed up and knocked it out of Karika’s hand, and climbed up the mast and placed it on his own head. Then the navigator Pai rushed after Pou-te-are and knocked red plume off his head. When it fell down, Pai seized it, and the fighting began. It was like a north wind and a south wind fighting for supremacy. Tangiia’s men gained the upper hand, and his canoe began to tow Karika’s canoe from Maketu to Maiao. So Karika decided to make peace with Tangiia and gave him his daughter Mokoroa-ki-aitu in marriage. Then the canoes separated.

Tangiia asked Karika, “Where is Rarotonga?”

Pointing, Karika said, “There,” and described the course downwind, toward the south (raro-tonga). The vessels now separated, Karika going his way and Tangiia his way. But Tangiia missed his mark and reached the southern ocean where he encountered great waves and currents. Tangiia thought, “This is the ‘Tai-rua-koko’ [place of

monstrous waves].” From there, the vessel turned north and came upon Rarotonga, which was named after Karika’s direction to the island. The island remained Tangiia’s home until he died.[2]

Tangiia landed on the east side of the island and after entering the channel through the reef, the crew took the rope named Te Kaa-ki-‘avaiki to fasten the canoe to the kaoa, or coral reef, and hence the name of that place is Te Kaoa. He then named the sandy point Te One-poto and going inland, constructed the marae named Te Miromiro to sanctify the land. The marae was dedicated to Tonga-iti; Parau-a-Toi was appointed the purapura, or guardian priest. Tangiia named the channel in the reef Ava-rau or Ava-tapu, being the way to ‘Avaiki.

The anchor was then pulled up and the vessel hauled on shore. Here another marae was built; it was named Iti-akaraua and was dedicated to the god Marumamao. After securing the vessel, the expedition went inland and built the marae named Itianga-te-ra; Kainuku was appointed the priest. On the completion of this marae, the expedition came down to the shore and built a house which was named Mata-enua (Looking for Land); Nukua-ki-roto was appointed guardian. This camp was at Tauna-a-rangi before the party built permanent houses.[3]

Tāne-korea, who was descended from one of the original settlers of Rarotonga , was found inland at Roka with his two daughters named Vai-te-nui and Ata-te-poroa. Tangiia asked Tāne, “Are those girls your daughters?”

Tāne replied, “They are.”

“I will take them as wives for myself.” He brought his family to Tau-vae, and dwelt there.

Some time after Tangiia’s arrival at Rarotonga, the Samoan chief Karika landed at the reef-opening named E. He built a fort of coral named Are-āu and settled there. The food eaten on board Karika’s canoe was human flesh, as the following song suggests:

The human-oven of Rua-koroa and Rua-ta
Wherein was cooked the eye-balls,
The dried up eye-balls,
In Karika’s oven, rei-iri e!

After he had settled on Rarotonga, Karika went to look for Tangiia and the daughter he had given to Tangiia in marriage. He followed the

coast to Avarua, where he heard the sound of conch shells and drums, so he turned inland to Tau-vae, where he found his daughter. He remained there for some time in conversation, then returned seaward, and settled at a place which he named Enua-kura. Before he left, Tangiia gave him a conch shell and a drum. The conch shell was the pū-ura.

Some time after the arrival of Karika at Rarotonga, Tutapu landed at Avarua. He killed Parau. Two uncles of Tangiia, Ue and Tautenga, came to Tau-vae to tell Tangiia of Tutapu's arrival and of the killing of Parau. Tangiia ordered some food cooked, but the two men refused it, saying they planned to return at once to Tutapu's camp.

"Why are you in such a hurry?"

"For fear we should be seen here."

Tangiia lamented their departure, but they told him, "Don't regret our departure; we shall do our part. You won't be defeated."

Later, these two uncles deceived some of Tutapu's forces into returning to Iva by telling them Tutapu's warriors had all been killed.

Before the fighting began, Tangiia sent his brother Keu and his sister Rakanui to Tahiti to get a prophecy from their father, Pou-vananga-roa, about the outcome of the imminent war. The old blind man instructed them to set up one cluster of pandanus leaves at the bow of their canoe and one at the stern, the one on the bow to stand for Tangiia and the one on the stern to stand for Tutapu; the cluster that fell would foretell the defeat of the man it represented.

On the voyage back to Rarotonga, the pandanus leaves at the stern fell—a sign that Tutapu would be defeated.

The fighting continued until Tangiia's forces (Ngati-Tangiia, Tangiia's tribe, lit., "the offspring of Tangiia") gained the upper hand and drove Tutapu's forces from Avarua to the east end of the island. Many died. Because Karika assisted Tangiia and helped defeat Tutapu, certain functions of government were eventually turned over to him.

At Oro-iti, Tangiia overtook Tutapu and called out to Rongo-ma-Tāne: "Let our fishing be successful!" Tutapu struck at Tangiia and cut off the little finger of the left hand. Tangiia sucked the blood into his mouth and blew it out into Tutapu's face, blinding him. Then he struck Tutapu with his toko-toki (a battle axe) and wounded him in the leg, the blow shattering the rock beneath Tutapu's feet. This blow caused the putiki (head ornament?) to fall from Tutapu. Tutapu now fled with two

daughters of Tangiia, Te Raiti-ariki and Puanga-te-rangi, as hostages. After a short distance, his breathe failed, so the place is known as "Oro-iti".

Tangiia pursued Tutapu up a stream. Tutapu's ei, or necklet, named Kaa-tu, fell off. As Tutapu climbed up the course of the stream, he was dripping blood. The place where a spur comes down from a ridge into the main stream is called Ara-eke-toto ("Path of falling blood").

Tutapu called back, "O Tangiia! Let me live!"

"Why should I spare you? Didn't I abandoned my home in Tahiti to you, my relentless pursuer?"

Tutapu now laid down in the water to hide his face from Tangiia's tokotoko (spear or club). Tangiia followed him and seizing his head, turned his face up and scooped out his eyeballs and swallowed them. The gods of the sky called down, "O Tangiia, you are an ariki who eats in haste."

"O my gods, I am indeed a hasty eater! Why did he relentlessly pursue me? My patience is exhausted. I abandoned my home in Tahiti to him and departed without protest over the great ocean. Why should I spare him now?"

Tangiia's daughter Te Raiti-ariki asked for the left eyeball, the light colored one, for Tutapu had one dark and one light-colored eye. The place where this event occurred is about four miles inland from the coast.

They took the body of Tutapu and carried it down to the shore to the district of Aroko, onto the bare rocks at Vai-tangi and Ioi, that is, at Ara-kuo. Here they proceeded to cook the body, but found that it would not cook in that place. It was then taken to Avarua, where they were joined by Karika and his army, who were carrying the god Maru-mamao and some dead bodies. This was the occassion when Karika took possession of this god Maru-mamao, and Tangiia and his forces plundered the rest of Tutapu's property.

When they got to Kiikii, the god Maru-mamao was uncovered and displayed, and the kiikii, or wreath, was thrown away (hence the name of the place). From that place they went to Avarua again; then to Tauae; then to Kau-ariki-rangi. Here Anu, who was the god Tongaiti, asked Tangiia, "Why doesn't Tutapu's body cook? Have you lifted the kapu on your child and your elder, Tupa, on account of the one he slew?"

Tangiia replied, "I have not."

"Life the kapu on your child and your elder; then you will be able to cook the body."

Now Taivananga (a priest) took a rau-kava (kava leaf) and struck the body of Tutapu, uttering the proper karakia (incantation) at the same time. Then he struck Tangiia with the rau-kava and put it in Tangiia's month, reciting the karakia. On completion of these proceedings, all was noa, or free from tapu, so men were ordered to collect firewood, which consisted of popo-kuru, popo-ngatae, katiara, and kakava-atua. So these were brought and the body cooked successfully this time, and hence the place was named Taana. The body was taken to the marae named Kura-angi, and there eaten.

After the feast had been consumed, Tangiia assembled all Ngati-Tangiia (his tribe) and addressed the tribe on that same day. This is what was decreed to the priests and all the tribe: "Man is sacred; no man is to be slain; the whole of the land is to be divided up from one side of the island to the other; the people must increase greatly in numbers, so the land might be filled."[4]

Then he said, "If a large fleet comes here in peace, let them land; a fleet that comes armed for war, let their heads be cut off with the tokotoko."

Death and Apotheosis

Tangiia eventually died in his house at Pure-ora. After his death his spirit flew up above to the tuputupu (wandering spirits) and there bewailed his body lying below near the sea. When the god Tonga-iti saw the spirit of Tangiia flaming amid the wandering spirits, he told him "Be calm. You will never be able to return to your body, for it is rotten by this time."

The god Tangaroa and Tonga-iti conducted a kava ceremony in which Tangiia's spirit was the ono (tasty food to go with the kava). After Tangaroa prepared the kava and drank it, he seized Tangiia and swallowed him, then spat him out. Tonga-iti did the same, and then Tangiia did the same to both Tangaroa and Tonga-iti.

After this ceremony, the two gods told Tangiia, "Now you possess the mana (power) of a god." The two gods ascended to the sky to convey Tangiia to the presence of Rongo-ma-Tāne.

The atua-tini (many gods) asked, "Who is this ariki?"

Tangiia replied, "It is Tangiia-ariki."

Again they asked, "Is this the ariki who worships the gods?"

The answer was "Truly, it is so!"

After this acknowledgment, the atua-tini felt a desire to taste Tangiia

and after the straining and drinking of the kava, they all swallowed Tangiia's spirit as ono to the kava. Then he did the same to all of them. After this meal Rongo-ma-Tāne said to Tonga-iti and Tangaroa, "Take him away and appoint a purapura (a medium) for Tangiia's spirit, then return." The gods came along and found Ruru, who was engaged in clearing land, and made him a medium for Tangiia's spirit.

Here ends the history of Tangiia, a man who played an important part in Polynesian history and ended by becoming a god. [The narrative traces Tangiia's 27 generations of descendants down to the time when this story was recorded.]

Notes

This version of the story of Tangiia is from "The History and Traditions of Rarotonga," told in Rarotongan by Te Ariki-Tara-are, the last high priest of Rarotonga; it was translated by S. Percy Smith (Part VI and VII, *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, Vol. 28: 1919, pp. 134-144, 183-197; Parts VIII-XI, Vol. 29: 1920, pp. 1-16, 45-51; 60-65). A shorter version of the history of Tangiia is found in "Genealogies and Historical Notes from Rarotonga," Part I, *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, Vol. 1: 1892, pp. 20-29. A third version of the Tangiia story is given in "Floatsam and Jetsam from the Great Ocean: or, Summary of Early Samoan Voyages and Settlement" written by "a native of Rarotonga" in 1842 and translated by the Rev. John B. Stair, *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, Vol. 4: 1895, pp. 95-131.

"The History and Traditions of Rarotonga," by Te Ariki-tara-are. begins with the origins of the Polynesian race, somewhere in Indonesia. The original lands are given the names Atia, ʻAvaiki-te-varinga, Iti-nui, Papua, Enuakura, ʻAvaiki, and Kuporu. The parents are named Te Tumu ("The Source") and Papa. The first story is about Māui, a child of Tangaroa and a descendant of Papa. (*Journal of the Polynesian Society*, Vol. 8: 1899, pp. 61-75).

S. Percy Smith speculates that 20 generations from Te Tumu, Vaitakere was living in Java or Sumatra; and that 35 generations from Te Tumu, Te Irapanga led a migration to the Hawaiian Islands, from Tawhiti-nui (Borneo?), and later settled in either the Lau islands of the Fiji Group, or in Savaiʻi of the Sāmoan Group. Ui-te-rangiora, one of the great voyagers, appears 43 generations from Te Tumu. The following events are set in ʻAvaiki (Sāmoa), on the threshold of

expansion into the Pacific.

Ui-te-rangiora and the Dispersion of the People of ‘Avaiki

Ui-te-rangiora built a celebrated pa‘i (sea-going canoe); the timbers of the canoe were human bones. The keel of the canoe was called “Te Ivi-o-Ātea.”

Because no bones were long enough for kiato (‘iako, or crossbeams connecting the two hulls), a tree named Te Tamoko-o-te-rangi was cut down for the purpose. This tree was kapu to Taa-kura and Ari. When they found out that Ui-te-rangiora had cut down their tree, they waged war against him and many men were killed. But the tree was taken and cut into eight portions and made into drums, tutunga (tapa-beating logs), and boards. One drum was named Taka-enua and was used in the ceremonies at Avarua (in the Samoan or Lau Group) to install a high chief. The tutunga was named Tangi-varovaro.

Ui-te-rangiora completed his vessel and launched it. This was the first pa‘i (a canoe made of planks rather than dug out from a single log) and the beginning of the dispersions of the people of ‘Avaiki to various islands in the Pacific.

Because of the wars in ‘Avaiki, starting with Kuru down to Taa-kura and Ari, people migrated to the following lands:

‘Avaiki-runga (‘Avaiki upwind—Tahiti-nui, the Tuamotus, etc.);

Iti-nui, Iti-rai, Iti-anaunau, Iti-takai-kere (Fijian Group, Lau islands);

Tonga-nui, Tonga-ake, Tonga-piritea, Tonga-manga, Tonga-rara, Tonga-anue (Tongan Group);

‘Avaiki-raro (‘Avaiki-downwind, or Savai‘i, the main island of Samoa); Kuporu (‘Upolu), Manuka (Manu‘a);

Vavau (North Tongan Group);

Niva-ou (Niuafou) and Niu-taputapu (Keppel’s island), both north of the Tongan Group.

Ui-te-rangiora’s descendants were Makua-ki-te-rangi, Te Rangi, Ata-o-te-rangi, Tara-o-te-rangi, Te Paku-o-te-rangi, Te Uka-o-te-rangi, Uu, Ane, Taipu, Tuna-ariki.

Tuna-ariki battled Tu-ei-puka over Avarua since both claimed it. Tuna-ariki killed Tu-ei-puka, and won the chieftainship. Tuna-ariki was then killed by a pig, which ate him.

After his death, Tu-ei-puka’s son Kati-ongia ruled. His descendants

were Kapua, Atonga, and Te Aru-tanga-nuku.

The Canoe of Te Aru-tanga-nuku

Te Aru-tanga-nuku wanted a canoe because there was not enough food on ʻUpolu (Sāmoa). His uncles Oro-keu, Oro-i-nano, Oro-taere told him to build one, so they might leave the island.

They prepared their adzes, held a ceremonial feast, and went to cut a tree for a keel. In the mountains, they met a white heron (ruru) and a snake (aa, replaced by an eel in some traditions) fighting.

Oro-keu appeared on the scene. The heron said to him, "O chief! Separate us and end the fight!" The snake said, "O chief! Leave us alone to continue the fight!" Oro-keu went on his way.

Oro-i-nano appeared on the scene. The heron said to him, "O chief! Separate us and end the fight!" The snake said, "O chief! Leave us alone to continue the fight!" Oro-i-nano went on his way.

Oro-taere appeared on the scene. The heron said to him, "O chief! Separate us and end the fight!" The snake said, "O chief! Leave us alone to continue the fight!" Oro-taere felt sorry for the heron because the heron was his elder brother. He killed the snake with his adze and wept over and healed the wound of the heron.

The heron then asked him, "What is your purpose here?"

"I am going to cut down a tree to make a canoe for the ariki Te Aru-tanga-nuku."

"Go and cut down my tree at Ara-Punga-verevere. I did not tell Oro-keu and Oro-i-nano about the tree because they did not help me against the snake. Those two are probably dead by now."

Oro-taere went and found the tree, a maota-mea. He rough cut it into the shape of a keel and tied the hauling ropes (kaka) to it. Then he left.

Along came Tangaroa-iu-mata. He found the fallen tree. He asked the guardian of the place Rata-i-te-vao (Rata of the forest), "Who has cut down my tree?"

Rata replied, "I don't know." Tangaroa went around asking who had cut down his tree, but no one knew. So he returned to the tree and re-erected it with a chant: "Stand up you maota-mea, be erect, gird on your bark again. Stand there, O you top of the tree! the large and small branches of the tree! Chips and leaves return to your places! Bark, adhere back onto the tree!" When the tree was restored Tangaroa returned home.

When Oro-taere and his crew returned, the tree was standing there,

the hauling ropes dangling from it. The only thing missing was a piece of bark, which he had taken down to the sea to remove the kapu from the tree. Oro-taere returned to shore to consecrate his adze again; the kapu on the adze had been destroyed when he had killed the snake. Then he went back to the mountain with his crew and felled the tree again, stripped the bark from it, tied on the hauling ropes, and dragged the log down to where the priest Atonga lived.

Food was given to the priest. When he was satisfied, he told Te Aru-tanga-nuku's wife Pori-o-kare, "Return and tell the ariki he must build a house. Tomorrow the canoe will be shaped. When the house is finished, let all of 'Upolu be seated there so they may see the log being dragged along by birds."

Aronga then summoned Tupua-ki-Amoa and told him to go to the white heron. "Tell him to tell Pirake-akaruirui-rangi [Pirake: a seabird noted for its soaring] to assemble all the birds and to drag the canoe of the ariki to the house prepared for it. Tupua-ki-Amoa gathered the many birds. At daylight, with the moamoa (a kind of bird) on one side, the Kakia, the Ngoiro, and Katikatika (kinds of birds) on the other side, and the Kati-rori bird reciting a song, the canoe was lifted down to the house.

The canoe had been built at night by Atonga-vaerua (Atonga, the spirit), and his workmen. Iu-mata, Aa-ngu, Na-ora, and Na-oti built one side of the canoe while Tupa, Tupa-ake, Tupa-aki, and Uri-reka built the other side; there were eight builders, Atonga being the ninth. Atonga named the canoe "Taraipō" ("Built in the night"); the birds called it "Te Manu-ka-tere."

When the canoe reached the house of the ariki, the birds returned inland, but Atonga stopped the heron and asked, "Where is there a tree suitable as a rakau-tukava (a weapon) for the ariki?" The heron replied, "At Te Po-amio." Atonga sent Tupua-ki-Amoa to cut down the tree. After a long search, he cut down the tree called Ipi-rere and brought it down to the village. He shaped it and named it "Te Amio-enua" and delivered it to the ariki, who placed it on the canoe. [This is the weapon over which Tangiia and Tutapu fought.] The canoe was named "Te-Pore-o-kare."

[The episode of a tree cut down for a canoe, re-erected by a forest god, then cut down again is also told as part of the tradition of Rata.]

The Voyages of Te Aru-tanga-nuku

Te Aru-tanga-nuku launched his canoe and sailed to Iva (Marquesas). At Iva, the canoe was renamed "Te Orauroa-ki-Iva" ("The Long Voyage to Iva"). From there it went to Rapa-nui (Easter Island) and on to Rapa-iti (Oparo, southeast of Rarotonga), where Irei was left on account of his bad navigation. From there they sailed to ʻAvaiki-runga (Tahiti) and all the islands near there. At ʻAvaiki-runga the canoe was named "Te Ara-ki-ʻAvaiki" ("The Way to Tahiti").

The great desire of Te Aru-tanga-nuku was to see all the wonderful things on the ocean which had been discovered and reported by his ancestor Ui-te-rangiora. He saw the rocks growing out of the sea beyond Rapa; the monstrous waves; the female dwelling in those waves, with her hair waving and floating on the surface of the ocean; the frozen sea (tai-uka-a-pia); the deceitful animal on the sea, which dived below the surface (walrus or sea-lion?); a gloomy, dark place, where the sun is not seen; a rock whose summit pierces the sky with steep, bare cliffs, where vegetation does not grow.

Te Ara-tanga-nuku had the following descendants: Te Amaru-ariki; Te Amaru-enua; Te Uenga-ariki; Te Uenga-enua; Kau-tea; Kau-mango; Vai-iti; Kaʻu-kura; Pou-vananga-roa-ki-Iva and Kaʻu-ngaki. Kaʻu-ngaki was Tangiia's mother.

1. Iro, or Hiro as he is known in Tahitian, is a distant relative to Tangiia; they share a common ancestor named Tu-tarangi, who is said to have conquered Fiji. (See "Genealogies and Historical Notes from Rarotonga," Part I, p. 25; and "History and Traditions of Rarotonga," Part VI, pp. 135-143.) See the Tahitian version of the story of Hiro in this collection.

2. Karika was a great navigator born on Manuʻa, the easternmost of the Sāmoa Islands, where he is known a ʻAliʻa (the Samoans do not pronounce the *k*'s in his name.)

Another version of the story of Karika is told in "Genealogies and Historical Notes from Rarotonga," Part II, *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, Vol. 1: 1892, pp. 65-75.

A third version of the meeting between Tangiia and Karika is found in "Floatsam and Jetsam from the Great Ocean: or, Summary of Early Samoan Voyages and Settlement," written by "a native of Rarotonga" in 1842 and translated by the Rev. John B. Stair, *Journal of the Polynesian*

Society, Vol. 4: 1895, pp. 106-107.

3. Tangiia built numerous other marae, houses, and koutu (meeting places) on Rarotonga. For a list of these, see pages 11- 15, *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, Vol. 29: 1920.

4. Compare the reverence for life expressed in Kamehameha's "Law of the Splintered Paddle": On one occasion when Kamehameha 1st was building a heiau (temple) and needed human sacrifices, sometimes as many as ten persons were made victims; for the greater the number sacrificed the greater the power conferred upon the temple.

To secure fresh victims, he started along the coast in a canoe with his retainers. At one place they saw two fishermen walking on the shore. Bidding his retainers remain at a distance, Kamehameha endeavored to capture the men. When they saw they were being pursued both fled. Just as Kamehameha was about to grasp the hindermost, the chief's foot got caught in a fissure of lava and he fell. The man he was after instantly struck him over the head with a paddle. The blow was so hard, the paddle splintered.

"Why don't you kill him?" said his companion.

"Life is sacred to Kāne," replied the man, quoting the old saying "Ua kapu ke ola na Kāne."

Kamehameha had regained consciousness after the blow and heard what the two men were saying. He knew the man could easily have killed him by running a fish-spear through his body and that neither of the two had recognized him as their chief. The chief was so impressed with the reverence for life shown by the two men that he put an end to human sacrifice and promulgated the famous "Law of the splintered paddle,"—the "Kanawai mamala-hoe,"—which runs, "Let the old men, the old women, and the children travel and sleep by the roadside [in safety]," "E hele ka 'elemakule, a me nā luahine, a me nā keiki, a moe i ka ala." (Told by Kaluhiokalani; in Green, *Folk-tales from Hawaii* 119.)

Rata

Teuira Henry

A prince named Vahi-e-roa (Far-off-place) once lived in Pare, Tahiti To‘erau (North Tahiti). His wife was Matamata-taua (Endless-strife), who also inherited the name of the land, Tahiti To‘erau as her rightful title because she was high chiefess of the realm.

To these two royal persons was born a son, whose arrival gave them great joy. They named him Rata (Tame).

On the night of his birth, his parents left him in charge of his paternal grandmother, ‘Ui-‘ura (Red-whetstone). They could not resist the temptation to join in a torchlight fishing party on hearing the joyous singing of the torchlighters on the seashore close by:

Now let my torches be made!
Long, to last the long night.
Torches are there,
Torches to light.
Light my torch,
To light the torch
The god Pi-‘a-rire is invoked.

[Pi-‘a-rire, “Splash-and-applaud,” a god of fishermen].

Vahi-e-roa held a torch in the bow of a canoe, and his wife sat just behind him watching with delight the success of the party and of others in neighboring canoes. But the happy couple had not been out long when the great demon bird Matutu-ta‘ota‘o (Searcher-in-thick-darkness) cast its shadow over them, as black as the region whence he came. He was chief of an army of demon birds (manu-varua-‘ino) of King Puna (Water-spring), who ruled a land called Hiti-marama (Border-of-the-moon), which stood northward from Pitcairn and Elizabeth islands, but has long since disappeared beneath the sea.

Engrossed in fishing, the people did not notice the bird until after it descended and with one sweep caught up the prince and his wife with its great talons and flew away swiftly to the land of the rising moon.

There the demon bird separated the unfortunate couple; the wife he gave to the spouse of King Puna, whose name was Te-vahine-hua-rei (The-woman-of-inflated-neck). She placed Tahiti To‘erau head downwards in the ground, with her shoulders and arms propping her body, and her feet up in the air to serve as a stand from which to hang baskets of food for her majesty. In this painful position the gods kept Tahiti To‘erau alive without food. But her poor husband came to an untimely and ignominious death. His head was bitten off and swallowed whole by the demon bird, and his body was cast out to be devoured by the king’s fish gods of the sea, the chief of which was a great bivalve named Pahua-tu-tahi (a giant clam), which stood open in mid-ocean to entrap its prey. The other gods of the sea were a shoal of monsters, a great a‘u (swordfish), a possessed urua (cavalla fish), and an aiea (consuming ghost) of the mid-ocean rocks.

The sad fate of the prince and his wife was revealed to the priests of Pare by their gods. The good old woman ‘Ui‘ura took care to conceal the fate of his parents from her grandson, who grew up under her tender care, believing that she was his mother.

Rata led a happy and uneventful life until he became a lad and sought the company of children of his own age, when the sad fate of his parents was revealed to him.

One day he joined a party of boys who were making toy canoes out of purau wood for a race on the sea, and he modelled one out of clay hoping that it would beat the others. He let his canoe dry in the sun and set a rudder to it, but it had no masts while those of his companions were fully rigged. When the race took place, the wooden canoes soon sailed away, leaving far behind the earthen one, which beat sidewise against the wind. When Rata eagerly called out to his canoe to hasten forward and beat the others, his companions tauntingly said: “Do you think your canoe can win when your father’s head has been swallowed by a demon bird and your mother serves as a stand for the food of a ferocious queen?”

The lad heard these words, and they weighed upon his mind. He went home to his grandmother and asked her who his parents were. The old woman replied: “I am your parent.” But this answer did not satisfy his inquisitive mind.

“But where is my father?”

“In that post there,” the grandmother answered, pointing to the central pillar of their home.

So the boy dug around the post to find his father, until the old woman told him he would cause the house to fall down. Then the lad desperately exclaimed: “Let me see you call forth my father!”

She answered evasively that she was both his father and mother, but this answer did not satisfy him, and he wept bitterly from disappointment.

The following day, Rata went again to play with his companions, and while they made more purau canoes, he made his of bamboo. As they were launching them into the sea, he said to his canoe: “Oh! toy canoe, beat all before you; the tens and the thousands that may follow you!”

Then his canoe went forward and left all the others far behind, which enraged the other boys, and they taunted him: “Your canoe has outrun ours; but is the resting place of your father’s spirit sacred when his head has been swallowed by Matutu-ta‘ota‘o, and your mother serves as a food-stand for the queen Vahine-hue-rei?”

Then Rata, just before so elated at his success, returned home crestfallen and insisted his grandmother tell him about his parent. So she did, after which he manfully inquired: “And how can I go to that land of the rising moon?”

“You would lose your life were you to go there, my child,” replied the grandmother. “Your parents are lost there and let that suffice; remain here with me in my old age.”

But the lad said resolutely: “How can I go to that land?”

“Make a canoe, and you can sail there.”

So it came to pass that Rata received from ‘Ui’s hands an ancestral axe, which his father had carefully laid away, and finding it dull the old woman directed him to sharpen it by rubbing its edge upon her back while she chanted these words: “The sacred back of ‘Ui-‘ura must indeed be rubbed!”

Then the axe was sharpened and filled with magic to aid the stripling in accomplishing the arduous task ahead.

He asked his grandmother where he should go to find a tree suitable for his canoe, and she replied: “In the sacred recess of the god To‘a-hiti [Bordering-rock] of jovial face, of the valley. Long, long endures the love for one’s parents; sorrow for them cannot easily subside!”

“I agree,” said Rata. So early in the morning he took a hearty meal and equipped himself in working attire, which consisted of a strong maro, or loin cloth, and a wreath of leaves to shade his head.

Rata went far up the deep valley, the recess of which was sacred to the inland god, To‘a-hiti, and his numerous elves of all sizes. Rata chose a fine tree, which he chopped down with wonderful skill. He had trimmed off the branches and made the trunk ready to hew out when nightfall came. Then he returned home to have supper and rest until the next day.

Rata’s grandmother welcomed him home, and while he sat enjoying his supper she inquired whether his errand had been propitious, and he answered enthusiastically that it had. She, being a clairvoyant, replied ambiguously: “The foliage of your tree is standing up,” a remark that he did not regard as ominous, as he thought she was referring to the fresh branches lying scattered on the ground, as he had left them.

But when Rata returned to his work the next morning, he was bewildered to find his tree standing erect among the other trees with all its branches and leaves restored, and he could not see upon the ground any trace of his recent work. At length he realized that all his previous day’s labor had been undone and that the elves of the valley had restored the tree to its former condition. So he again set to work and felled the tree, and this time he did not cut off the branches but concealed himself among the thickest of them and sat watching for the return of the mysterious beings.

At length Rata heard strange voices up in the air, and before long he saw approaching the tree a host of odd little beings, some stout and others slender. He saw good jovial To‘a-hiti with his little muscular canoe artisan, named Ta-va‘a (Canoe-hewer), heading the train of merry elves in attendance on him! While they lighted upon the branches, Rata kept still, and soon they sang gently and harmoniously:

Fly hither, fly hither,
Branches of my tree!
Come gently, come enraged,
Fly hither, fly hither!
Watery sap of my tree,
Adhesive gum, stand—
Stand the tree erect!

But Rata held the tree down, so that it could not rise again. Not seeing him, the gods wondered what prevented the tree from rising, and then their artisan, Ta-va‘a, said, “Let us drive away the anger of ‘Ui,” and ran from end to end of the tree. Then they sang gently again:

Fly hither, fly hither!

Watery sap of my tree,
Come gently, come enraged!
Adhesive gum stand—
Stand the tree erect!

And up went the tree with all the gods upon the branches, while Rata remained still hidden in the foliage. They then adjusted the leaves and were ready to take their departure when Rata gave a shout and shook the branches, which so startled them that they rushed out confusedly, tumbling head first over one another, sideways through the air, not heeding what they were doing, from their surprise at seeing a man intrude upon their sacred ground. Never before had mortal dared to cut a tree from their beautiful forest so high inland!

As soon as order was reestablished and all were again perched up in the tree, Ta-va‘a said to Rata: “What is your desire here in this recess of the valley sacred to us?”

Rata answered in brief, faltering words: “I want a canoe!”

“Your person is sacred,” replied the artisan, “because of our friendship for your parents, whom we adopted. Yes, Rata, you shall have a canoe! Our dear grandson, long, long endures the love for one’s parents, and sorrow for them cannot subside! You furnish us with the tools and the sennit and leave the building of your canoe to us.”

Rata was delighted at this promise and readily agreed to furnish all that the artisan desired. So he went home quickly and told his grandmother all that had happened, and she soon aided him in obtaining the things that were required for the making of the canoe. Most of the tools they already had. Moreover, Rata was provided with a present of red feathers and fine girdles and mats as offerings for those gods.

When everything was ready, Rata carried inland all he had gathered and placed everything beside the trunk of the tree he had chosen. Then he returned home with a light heart. His grandmother said, “Now your canoe will soon be done!” They had supper and went to bed.

Towards midnight, as Rata slept, he dreamed about his canoe, and as he dreamed he chanted:

Oh, my eyes are closed!
My dream is to stand, to be a champion;
My dream is to demolish,
Aided by the master in ‘ura feathers, Tāne,
This is Tāne’s evening

My sleep is amid boards, I am awakened
By the song of the thrush,
That sings in the day, sings at night,
Chirps, and spreads [its wings];
And the fountains flow in the dream of night.
It is the gods, O it is the gods
That excite one in sleep!

"I have been dreaming," said Rata, "about my canoe, and believe it is here on the right side of our house!" So saying, he fell asleep again, and just before daybreak he had the same dream and chanted in the same strain as before, after which he awoke and said to his grandmother: "Oh, my dream! I have had it again, and I feel certain that my canoe is here, near our door."

The old woman replied: "Take some fara seeds and throw them out to where you think the canoe is, and you cannot mistake the sound that they will make against the side of the canoe if it is there."

So, groping in the dark, he went and got a handful of edible fara seeds from a basket, threw them with force into the dense shade on the right, just outside of the door; and they heard the desired noise of the seeds falling against boards. Highly delighted, the lad went out and felt his canoe to make quite sure it was there, and returning to the house he impatiently waited for dawn to see his canoe.

At length daylight arrived, and Rata and his grandmother went joyously to inspect the canoe. It was beautiful and complete! The seams of the planks were sewn tightly together with sennit and made waterproof with breadfruit gum. A long magical spear for Rata, named "Tevao-roa-ia-Rata" (The-distant-recess-of-Rata), had been placed at the stern of the vessel. The masts and rigging were of the strongest and best quality, and there were strong mats for sails.

To'a-hiti and his band, keeping themselves invisible, were present, ready to help Rata launch the canoe. Unconsciously impelled by them, he went without assistance to draw the canoe into the sea, not far off, and it moved as if by magic, and was soon in deep water. But it had yet to be baptized, or made to drink. Not knowing this, Rata was surprised to see it sink below the surface of the sea, and rise again full of water. Then he exclaimed to his grandmother: "This is a bad canoe, it sinks for no reason!"

The grandmother replied: "Tow the canoe in and dedicate it to To'a-hiti."

"How shall I dedicate it?"
"In these words," said the old woman:

Go, go and encounter! Go, go upheld
By To'a-hiti of jovial face,
And rise!
And rise up bows
Of Tua-a-Rata [Company-of-Rata]!

So Rata did as she told him, after which he desired to know what should be done next, and his grandmother directed him to make a cooking place of sand upon the deck and to take plenty of food and water and store them in the canoe for the voyage, while she braided him a round basket of fara leaves lined with soft tapa, in which to receive his father's head.

Rata prepared the food and placed it into the canoe and put the basket carefully away in the marae that he had made in the canoe. Then he said to his grandmother: "I shall now see if you are right in all you have instructed me to do, my dear grandmother."

He again launched the vessel with invisible help and chanted thus, with his eyes looking steadfastly ahead:

To Motu-tapu [Tabued-island]
I shall smite, smite, smite
With warrior's blows, with deep feeling!

When Rata looked up at his canoe as it lay well balanced upon the water, he perceived the elves there also, and Ta-va'a was sitting at the bow as a guide for the voyage. To'a-hiti had returned home to the mountains, to reappear in the canoe when needed.

They set sail, and were soon caught by a good breeze. Then Rata looked back upon the shore and bade farewell to his grandmother, and they wept for each other.

As the land grew distant, he took leave of it in the following strain:

Oh my land standing forth!
Hide thy face
Be lost, lost [to view] in the voyage.
Let me be lost in launching away from land,
With the marae;

Let my land standing out be lost!
Hide thy face as I bid farewell;
And bid me conceal,
Hide my feelings as I say adieu,
Say adieu to the woods of my land
Till by and by.

Then Rata looked out to sea; the land disappeared behind him. For days and nights he smoothly sailed on the broad ocean, and early one clear morning he saw at the horizon, a thick shoal of monster fish, and thought it was land, but Ta-vaʻa said it was not land, but that foes were approaching him. So Rata went to the bow of the canoe and stood with his spear to meet them. Soon the fish came rushing forward, intending to load down the canoe and make it sink; but the lad dexterously struck all those that sprang up and killed and scattered the greater part of the shoal, which soon disappeared. Then Rata presented to the gods guiding him the fish that he had killed, after which all partook of the flesh.

They were sailing on their course when the great aʻu (swordfish), came into sight, and Rata mistook it for land; but Ta-vaʻa said it was not land, but another foe. So Rata stood prepared again for battle, and when the monster approached the side of the canoe, intending to pierce it, he killed it with his spear and presented the body to the elves as before. Thus that demon was exterminated and his flesh eaten by all.

They sailed on, and they met the great urua (cavalla fish), which looked like land, but Ta-vaʻa told Rata it was the cavalla fish sent by King Puna to kill him. The fish darted forward to carry away Rata, but he stood ready and as soon as it approached him, he thrust his spear into its throat and killed it; and it was also eaten by all

Next they met the great Pahua-tu-tahi (a giant clam), which appeared like a mountain looming up from the sea. But Ta-vaʻa said, "It is not land; it is the giant clam," and Rata prepared for the inevitable encounter, as his vessel was being drawn up into it.

The clam had opened its great valves and was sucking in the waves upon which the canoe, Tua-a-Rata, was sailing. The lad stood at the bow with his spear, and as soon as they reached the center of the clam he pierced it through its vital part, severing its flesh from the shell, so that it could not close upon him. He presented the clam to his spirit company to annihilate, and as soon as the canoe was safely away, the dead clam sank into the deep sea.

Soon afterwards, the sun was obscured and the sky was darkened by

the great, black, spreading wings of Matutu-ta‘ota‘o, the terrible demon bird that had carried away Rata’s parents and swallowed his father’s head!

Rata, standing at the helm, said rain was coming; but Ta-va‘a replied: “No! It is not rain, it is the bird, Matutu-ta‘ota‘o, coming to devour you and sink your canoe in this deep ocean. Be strong!”

“I am ready,” said the lad, and he ran to the bows; not finding his position good there, he went to the middle of the canoe; but seeing that the masts and rigging were in his way, he ran to the helm and stood upon the outer side. Not finding that suitable, he stepped onto the steering paddle, which was attached to the canoe, and there stood so that the water came up to his waist. Then he said: “This is a good place, O Ta-va‘a, hold firm the helm and guide our canoe.”

The god artisan took good hold of the paddle Rata stood on and steered steadily as the canoe sailed on. He also held the round basket in readiness for Rata, who chanted:

The front pillar [of heaven], the front pillar,
The back pillar, the back pillar,
The middle pillar, the middle pillar,
Would that they were overturned!
Let darkness descend,
While Rata stands behind
Upon that helm, upon that helm.
But he will come in contact,
But he will come in contact,
Far-soaring bird, with energy, energy,
Bird far-soaring, far-soaring,
Of musical, musical darkness,
A bird, far-soaring!

Rata was exulting in his good position, and soon the great bird approached the canoe and with a trumpet-like voice cried out: “Come hither, my friend!”

After poising itself overhead it was descending to snatch up Rata, when Rata shouted to Ta-va‘a: “Submerge me in the water!”

Immediately the great paddle was lowered beneath the waves; and while the bird extended his broad wings watching for Rata to rise again, the lad darted his spear up out of the sea and broke off the bird’s right wing, which fell into the water beside him. Rata picked it up and

presented it to To‘a-hiti of jovial face, who stood it up as a great sail for the canoe.

The bird screeched fiercely and hovered one-sidedly over Rata, who was plunged again by Ta-va‘a beneath the waves. It could not guide itself flying, and in trying to descend upon Rata, it spun around and fell. Rata quickly broke off the other wing with his spear and guided the body into the canoe. So the terrible monster was disabled and captured by the young son whose parents it had cruelly snatched away. Rata leaped up onto the canoe, took the basket from the hands of Ta-va‘a, and placed it over the beak of the bird, which rendered up the head of his father still sound. As he was receiving it he wept and said sobbing:

Roll out here, roll out here, oh!
Here is the safe receptacle, oh!
Here is the safe receptacle, oh!

Then he reverently placed the basket and its sacred contents in the marae. He slew the bird and presented it to the presiding gods, so that Matutu-ta‘ota‘o was no more in this world; his wicked spirit was banished to Pō (Darkness) to dwell forever with evil spirits there.

Rata and the gods set up the bird’s second wing as a sail also. They plucked off all the shining black feathers of the bird, which were immense, and fastened them over the masts, sails, and ropes of the canoe, so that none of the rigging could be seen. Ta-va‘a still guided the canoe.

Night came as they sailed steadily on with gentle breezes and calm sea, and early in the morning they perceived land ahead. It was the desired goal, the dreaded island of Hiti-marama! So Rata hid himself away, and the gods made themselves invisible as they entered the haven.

They sailed into a smooth and spacious lagoon, the mirror of the rising moon, surrounded with shores of white sand and gently rising ground covered with verdure, above which waved the graceful leaves of coconut trees. In the center of the land was one solitary, cone-shaped mountain, which was white with the blossoms of the waving ‘a‘eho cane, from which it derived its name, Mou‘a-pua-‘a‘eho (Mountain-of-the-‘a‘eho-blossom).

At its base was an abyss, dark and fathomless, extending down to the netherlands, the home of Matutu-ta‘ota‘o and his innumerable army of demons, which was visited occasionally only by Puna, the giant half-

demon king of the island. In different directions gushed forth from the mountain bright, clear springs of pure water, spreading out into mirror-like pools, which the inhabitants frequented.

Soon all the people of the various villages gathered around their king to enquire of him what that strange monstrous thing swimming in their sea could be. No canoe of that dimension, called a pahi, had ever entered that port before. Such a thing was only known to the people in their songs and legends. But the great wings with the sails and the general effect of the black feathers covering all, with no visible person moving on board, baffled all alike, and the king answered: "It is a god from the deep become visible to us because of the calm clearness of the atmosphere."

The canoe was guided towards the shore where all the throng had gathered. Near shore, Ta-vaʻa told Rata to come out of his hiding place and take the helm, while he, still invisible, took his post at his side to instruct him what to do in the coming encounter; all the elves also remained invisible.

As soon as the people saw the lad at the helm and the wooden hull and paddles, they exclaimed: "It is a canoe! It is a canoe!

King Puna said to two of his attendant chiefs Tupa-uta and Tupa-tai (Inland-crab and Shore-crab): "Something wrong has happened; our great bird Matutu-taʻotaʻo has been killed, and those are his feathers that we see decorating that canoe! Go and cause it to get stranded out on the rocks, so that the waves may dash it to pieces when the wind rises."

All were astonished to see that a boy had slain the bird. So the chiefs went to the shore, and pretended to aid Rata in steering among the rocks to the landing place, not knowing that he was guided by a spirit. When they said, "Steer to the right," the spirit told Rata, "To the left"; when they said "To the left," the spirit said, "To the right."

So Rata arrived safely in the haven, and all the spectators were amazed at his skill in navigation. But they wondered still more when they saw Rata descend from his canoe with his axe, and after obtaining permission, go to chop rollers, which he carried manfully and laid upon the sand in proper order for drawing his canoe up on to the shore. They said to one another: "Surely that lad will not undertake to drag up his canoe alone!"

But very soon they saw him go down into the sea and draw the canoe with ease, swim into shallow water, and then push it from behind over the rollers high onto the shore. He stopped when he arrived at a shady place, and then went into the canoe and rested. Some of the

people befriended him, brought him food, and wished to take him home; but he preferred living in his canoe, and so there he remained.

No one dared question Rata about himself, his family, or his land, for they had never seen a boy so strong, and they began to fear him as a god. But King Puna, planning anew to put an end to him, ordered a great house to be built not far from the canoe and placed the house at Rata's disposal.

So all the warriors of the land quickly built a royal house for Rata, and when it was finished the king sent his daughter, Tie-maofe (Handsome-stem), a beautiful young girl, to invite him to take possession of it. Rata, being told by the spirits what to do, accepted, and taking his spear with him, he was conducted by the princess into the spacious house, which was nicely furnished with beds and mats and everything for his comfort. He also found a feast prepared for him. The princess Tiemaofe and other young pcople were told to entertain and amuse the young stranger until late at night, when they were all to pretend to go to sleep. Then when they saw he had fallen into a sound sleep, they were to leave him.

So the young people kept up their amusements until very late, and at last, when all were resting and Rata appeared fast asleep, the others approached him and tried to rouse him. But as they found that he did not stir, they concluded that he was exhausted from his late labors and could not be awakened, so it was the right moment to leave him alone.

The princess admired the brave lad and felt herself growing attached to him, and casting a lingering look upon his handsome face and form in repose, in the light of candle-nut tapers, she exclaimed: "Oh, what a comely youth you are to die!"

Reluctantly she went her way with her companions to her home, as an obedient daughter.

But Rata was not asleep, and he quietly awaited his assailants, who were not long in coming. He soon heard men come, saw them tie up the doors with strong cords, and set fire to the thatch, the flames completely encircling the house. Now was the moment for Rata to act. He took his long spear, Te-va'o-roa-ia-Rata, planted it in the ground against a middle post, climbed to the upper thatch, and made an opening through which he went, drawing his spear with him. So while King Puna and all his people were exulting over the rising flames that were to consume Rata, he quietly slipped on to a spreading branch of the great tree that shaded his canoe and part of the house. From the tree he climbed down into his canoe unhurt.

The tree was badly burned, and the canoe was scorched by the heat. Rata was kept busy extinguishing sparks of fire that kept falling around him. The house gradually became a great, burning mass; and Puna and his people, listening in vain for the cries of the lad, concluded that he was sleeping too soundly to be awakened by the crackling of the conflagration. At length the structure fell in and was soon leveled to the ground, but still no cry! On seeing the beams in blazing piles where Rata had last been seen sleeping, they exclaimed: "Ah, it is well, our evil genius is dead."

The king said the canoe was now his property.

So when it was daylight the people went to take possession of the canoe in the king's name; but to their great surprise they saw the lad Rata quietly sitting there, and they stood abashed and soon went away one by one to their own houses. Then the king said to his daughter: "You must have been sleeping yourself, for Rata is alive and safe in his canoe."

Now it was Rata's turn to employ deceits upon the people of Hiti-marama.

One evening Rata saw the two chiefs Tupa-uta and Tupa-tai, who had tried to wreck his canoe the day he arrived in their port, preparing torches to go land-crab hunting, and so he also provided himself a torch and a basket. When they left, he followed them a little in the rear, so that they might not recognize him in the dark. They crossed the belt of land to the outer shore of the island. Soon the men began to pick up crabs and pluck off their legs, leaving one on each as they placed them in their baskets. Rata called out: "How many legs are you leaving on your crabs ?"

"One," they answered. Then Rata broke little sticks to imitate the sound of crab legs breaking and said: "I am leaving one on mine, too."

Sometimes when he inquired, they replied that they were leaving two legs on, and then he said that he was also leaving two, as he went on breaking little sticks. At last, the men's baskets were filled, and they turned to go homeward, Rata following as before.

But as the torches had run out and it was late, the men decided to camp out for the night in a fishing hut on the beach in a bay leading into the king's village; and Rata said: "I shall sleep here with you."

They all hung their baskets up on a fara tree close by and settled down for the night.

When the men fell asleep, Rata went out, tore holes in the bottom

of their baskets, and let all their crabs fall into his basket, which was empty; and without being perceived, he returned to the hut and slept till morning.

At dawn all three awoke and went out to get their crabs. But the two chiefs were surprised to find their crabs gone, and great holes torn in their baskets. Rata pretended to be as much surprised as they, and looking into his basket of crabs said: "That's strange; here are mine, all safe!"

And the others answered: "Oh yes, you still have yours," without detecting the fraud. They returned empty handed to King Puna's house, while Rata carried away all the crabs for himself to eat in his canoe.

Another day, Tupa-uta and Tupa-tai were preparing to go out fishing, and when Rata asked permission to go with them, they agreed . He made himself a fishhook out of a shell and obtained a very long line, which he put into his basket, and they all set out.

They paddled their canoe out into the open sea until the land was so distant that they could no longer discern the reeds upon the cone-shaped mountain; and they at last arrived at an extensive rocky shoal, covered with seaweed and teeming with fishes. Here and there towered great black crags high above the sea—the haunts of aquatic birds. There was also a yawning cavern, the home of King Puna's sea gods. Then they dropped anchor, and when Tupa-uta was preparing his hook for fish, Rata looked at it and said: "You will hook a shark, but it will get away." And to Tupa-tai he said: "You will hook an urua [cavalla fish]; but it will break your hook and escape."

The shark and the urua soon bit the bait of the respective fishermen, and Rata's predictions were fulfilled.

Then he threw out his hook, and the friendly gods that all the time had been with him took possession of it. For some seemingly unaccountable reason, the hook went out along the surface of the sea, extending the line with it and travelled thus for miles, until it arrived somewhere on the mainland, and there it held fast. Rata sat in the middle of the canoe, letting out his line, and as it went against the man in the bow, he exchanged places with him; and at last, when the hook caught, he drew in the line, which was held fast, and instead of his prize coming to him, the canoe was being drawn forcibly by it. So the anchor was pulled up, and the canoe rushed through the water toward the land at an amazing speed.

They soon saw the sea breaking upon the barrier reef along the

shore and the reeds upon the mountain waving to and fro, and then they neared the passage and went on into the lagoon, the hook still drawing them, until they reached a shady nook that was a favorite resort of fowls and birds. There they saw the line being drawn by a large fat white rooster! It was King Puna's sacred rooster that had swallowed the hook, impelled by Rata's Tahitian spirits. They caused the rooster to be caught with the hook so that he might die and no longer crow at night to announce the approach of day to the King or serve him as an augur. When Rata saw this, he took the fowl as his lawful property to his canoe and cooked it for supper.

So time went on, and Rata, who had his father's head carefully put away with his god on the marae in his canoe, had not yet gained access to the king's house, where his mother was being so cruelly used as a foodstand for the queen. Revenge he must taken for the cruel treatment of his parents, and so he devised a plans.

Stealing up to the mountain cavern one day, he broke open the small entrance and let in the rays of the sun, which startled the great army of the bird Matutu-ta'ota'o. While he was opening their stronghold, some hideous bats and other winged monsters attacked him, but he soon killed them. Other monsters descended beyond the reach of man, whence they never again dared return to face the sun.

Before this deed was discovered, Rata sailed out of the lagoon, ostensibly leaving the island for good. Two days he remained out of sight, after which time the Tahitian gods caused a strong wind to blow, making the sea high. Then Rata sailed at midnight into the bay of the outer shore, where he once went crab hunting. From there, accompanied by Ta-va'a, he crossed over to King Puna's house. They found the king shivering with cold under a thick covering of tapa and saying: "This storm is good! Now Rata will die at sea."

The lad and the god stood on either side of Puna. After a little while, on seeing them, Puna observed that it was very cold, thinking they were some of his retainers, and never suspecting that the wind was sent for Rata's benefit. King Puna grew colder and colder, and said to Rata and Ta-va'a, who were still standing by him: "O, people here! O, people here, I am suffering from a fever."

Then he fell into a deep stupor, unable to descry anything about him, and all of his household were sound asleep, likewise stupefied by the gods from Tahiti. Rata and Ta-va'a took a rope and noosed the king, bound his feet together with a rope rendered strong by enchantment,

and tied them to a long stone column. This stone tapered from the ends towards the middle, from frequent use in attaching to it men destined to be slain for the king's table, which lay upon the grass-covered floor not far from the great ogre's bed. Owing to its shape the stone was named Papa-'ari'ari (Stone-tapering-towards-the-middle).

Soon after this, day began to dawn, and the king became restless in his slumbers. Perceiving that he was a prisoner, as in a dream, he snapped the noose from around his neck with his hands and with a tremendous jerk he drew in his feet and broke the tapering stone in two. Bewildered from his feverish sleep, with rage he roused himself and endeavored to stand up to detach his feet from the entanglement, when immediately Rata speared him through the body and Ta-va'a struck him in the neck, so that he fell down dead, unperceived by his still slumbering wife and daughter and other inmates of the house.

Rata then went to his mother, whose inverted body he now discerned in the twilight, and dug around her head with his spear to release her. Soon he held her in his arms and was removing the dirt from her face, when she, quite blind, supposing that her hour had come to be killed and cooked for the king, accommodatingly said in a low, soft voice: "You will have to wash off the dirt from me before you eat me!"

Freely weeping, Rata answered, "I am your son Rata"; but his mother did not believe him. She answered that it was not possible for anyone to approach the dreaded land of Hiti-marama, and she enumerated all the denizens that guarded its shores, not having heard that they had been slain by her valiant son. Still more affected, Rata wept aloud and chanted:

There was no pity shown indeed!
Moving, moving here,
Creeping, creeping here,
I came and struck,
O, Tahiti-to'erau!
There was no pity shown indeed;
Moving, moving here,
Your son has come!

Then the poor mother knew indeed that this was her son, and they embraced each other and wept.

Soon Rata took his mother to bathe in the royal bathing-pool close

by and arrayed her in royal tapa from the slain king's wardrobe. Still unobserved by the populace whom Rata's gods caused to sleep heavily, he carried her in his arms, and Ta-va'a, assisted by other elves, bore away the dazed widow queen and daughter of Puna to the canoe, which was in waiting by the shore. They went out of the harbor long before any of the inhabitants of the land had time to molest them.

Then the wind and sea rose fiercely over the island, which soon became submerged and sank forever, even the mountain peak, into unknown depths. [*On the old charts of the Tuamotu Islands, a group of five islets encricled by a reef, marked "Minerva" and lying northeast of the Gambiers, has entirely disappeared and so quietly that it was only missed in 1880 by the French ship-of-war "Alert" which sought for it carefully in its course among the islands. That little group was the farthest east of all the Tuamotus, and the land Hitimarama of former days could not have stood far from it.*]

Out to the fishing shoal (before mentioned), the Tahitians went. They found the great cavern under shelving rocks within which were King Puna's demon monsters of the sea, to whom he had been accustomed to offer invocations and sacrifices. The cavern they closed in with rocks, while numerous fiendish fish guardians assaulted them. These they annihilated, and the priest committed their souls to the region below, to rejoin the king and his people of the sunken island of Hitimarama.

So Rata returned triumphantly home as a great hero, though still a mere lad. He never forgot the kindness of the elves of the mountains, tried friends, whom he occasionally visited and who manifested much interest in all that concerned him. Rata's grandmother, 'Ui-'ura rejoiced to meet him once more, and all at home wept with both joy and sorrow over his recovered mother, who was hopelessly blind. All his former companions who once heaped contempt upon him came forward respectfully to greet him because he had redeemed the honor of his household and saved their land from the great ogre black bird and its rapacious army of demons.

The widowed queen and her beautiful daughter were kindly received into the home of Rata. They soon adapted themselves to the ways of his people, though they ever mourned for King Puna and their beautiful land and race, now known only in folklore. The two mothers and grandmother became attached to one another and lived happily together. The head of Rata's father, which was possessed with his spirit,

was dried carefully, wrapped in sweet-scented tapa, and kept in the house as a family oracle, according to the custom of ancient times. Rata became the happy husband of Princess Tie-maofe, who was beloved of all the people of North Tahiti for her amiable qualities. By this marriage all past grievances of the two families were wiped away, and the young people commenced life with an unclouded future.

So Rata's canoe had fulfilled the destiny for which it was named by the elves of the forest, Vaʻa-i-ama (Canoe-that-burned), though it still retained the name ʻUi-ʻura had given it, Tua-a-Rata (Company of Rata). The names Vaʻa-i-ama, Vaʻai-a, and Vaʻa-iʻura—all meaning the same—are found in the genealogy of the Pomare family to commemorate the famous canoe.

After these exploits, which rendered Rata famous in Tahiti, it is stated in one story that he went away to explore unknown regions and never returned to Tahiti, and that for ages afterwards navigators saw in the bright hazy distance, when far out at sea, the giant Rata with his spirit ancestors sailing in his canoe, which they could never overtake. According to another story, once Hiro saw Rata in his canoe with some other navigators being spun around towards the center of a whirlpool. (Generally known to ancient Polynesian voyagers, these whirlpools may have been caused by shoals long since sunken.) From this predicament Hiro drew them out, and in gratitude for this deliverance, Rata gave Hiro the canoe, which was named by its new possessor Vaʻa-i-hutia-mai (Canoe-that-was-drawn-back).

Notes

This Tuamotuan version of Rata is from Teuira Henry's *Ancient Tahiti* (495–512); the story was obtained in 1893 "by Mrs. Walker from the scholar Taroi." A Tahitian version of the story is found on pages 468-495 of Henry's book. The story of Vahieroa and Rata continue the tradition of Hema and Tafaʻi, told in the previous story. (Vahieroa is the son of Tafaʻi.)

Beckwith summarizes the traditions of these Pan-Polynesian heroes from various islands—Aotearoa (New Zealand); Rarotonga, Aitutaki, and Mangaia; (Cook Islands); Hiva (Marquesas Islands); Vaituptu (Ellice Islands), Pukapuka, Sāmoa, and Tonga.(238-275). The traditions are also discussed in Henry (512-515; 565-575). Hawaiian versions of the traditions of Hema, Kahaʻi (Tafaʻi), Wahieloa (Vahieroa), and Laka

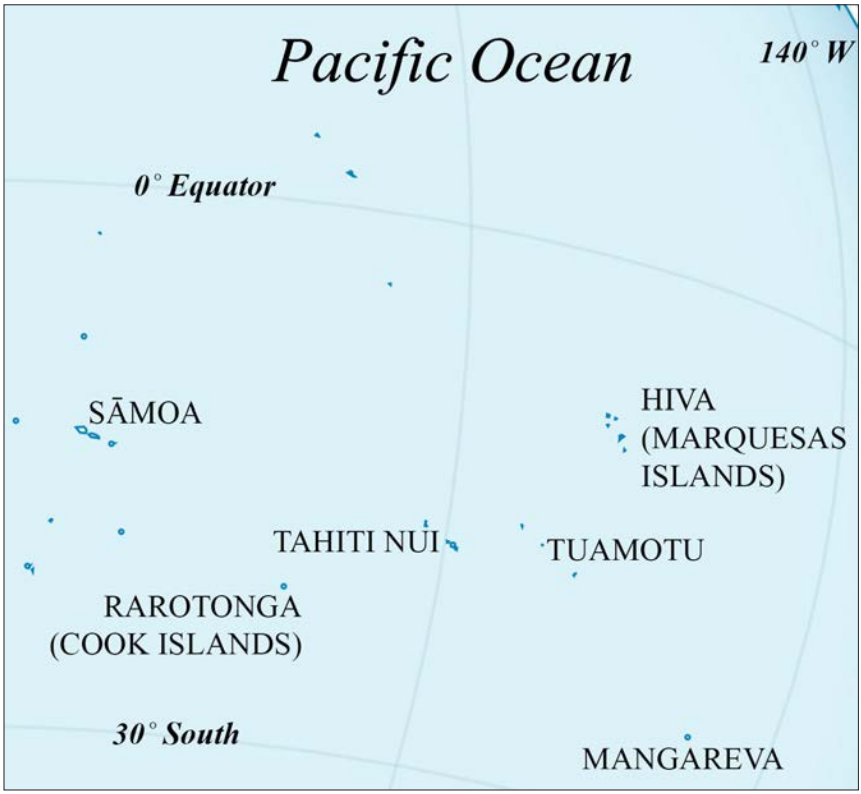
(Rata) are told in chants in S.M. Kamakau's *Tales and Traditions of the People of Old* (138-147).

Laka (Rata) is associated places around Kāneʻohe Bay on Oʻahu. Born on Maui, Laka is said to have lived at Haleʻula in Waikāne, and died at ʻĀhua-a-Laka, "Sand bank of Laka," the mile-long sand bar in Kāneʻohe Bay named after him. (See "Voyaging Chiefs of Kāneʻohe Bay" in *Storied Landscapes: Hawaiian L iterature and Place*.)

In remembrance of voyaging chiefs like Laka and Kahaʻi (Tafaʻi) associated with the bay, the Polynesian Voyaging Society launched its canoe *Hōkūleʻa* at the north end of the bay in 1975, below the peak of Kānehoalani, the highest peak of the sacred cliffs of Moʻo Kapu o Hāloa, at the border of the ahupuaʻa of Kualoa and Hakipuʻu.

Hōkūleʻa has voyaged for over half a century to revive sailing and navigation traditions of Hawaiʻi's first people, including voyages to Tahiti, Aotearoa, Hiva (Marquesas) and Rapanui, and around the world (2014-2017). To celebrate her 50th birthday, *Hōkūleʻa* returned to her birth sands, at Kualoa-Hakipuʻu.

Hōkūleʻa anchored below the peak of Kānehoalani on Kāneʻohe on her fiftieth birthday on March 8, 2025. She was launched from the beach below the peak on the border of Hakipuʻu and Kualoa in 1975. Photo by Mengshin Lin, AP Press)



"Aka's Voyage for Feathers," which follows, records a voyage from Hiva to Rarotonga.

Aka's Voyage for Feathers

A man named Aka wished to get feathers to make a feather headdress for his daughter. Aka was not a chief. He gathered a crew for his canoe and told his relatives to prepare food for the voyage. He then looked about for some one to guide him, and finally selected two boys. He chose them because he had seen that, when the children were sailing boats, the boats of these two boys always went straight to the desired place.

They set out, and after they had gone a little way, the boys said to Aka, "There is land ahead. What land is it?"

"It is Motani," replied Aka.

"What can be gotten there?" inquired the boys.

Meie (a species of herb used for perfume)," replied Aka. "I have been there before and gathered the herb for my daughter."

After they had sailed on for a long time, the boys said again, "There is land ahead. What land is it?"

"It is Moutona," said Aka.

"What can be gotten there?" asked the boys.

Aka replied, "Mouomatito no te tahia (a species of grass which was plaited and used in a game played by girls). I have been there before and gathered the grass for my daughter."

By this time the boys were anxious to go back, for the birds Aka wanted to get were tapu to their families.

They sailed on for a long time and again there was the same questioning. The boys said, "There is land ahead. What land is it?"

Aka replied, "It is Kau kau o meia."

"What can be gotten there?" the boys asked.

"Pehe no te tahi (string figures)," Aka said. "I have been there before and gotten the pehe." (According to the informant Aka had landed there on a previous voyage, made cord from the fiber of banana stumps, and learned or invented pehe. This is another story.)

They sailed on as before, and again the boys said, "There is land ahead. What is that land?"

"It is Oautona (Aotona or Rarotonga)," Aka replied.

The boys asked, "What can be gotten there?"

"Huukua (bird feathers)," Aka replied. "We will land there."

The place, which they first sighted, was the place where the birds were, but the boys said, "We must go over to the other side of the island or we shall be heard."

The island was really uninhabited, but the boys did not want Aka to land where the birds were, because the birds were tapu to them. When the voyagers had beached the canoe, the boys ran away from the others and went to the valley, in which the birds lived. They built a house there, which had a hole in the top but was closed on the sides. They then got in the house and scraped coconut meat. When they had a pile of scraped coconut, they kindled fire by rubbing two sticks together, and threw the coconut on the fire. The birds smelled the burning coconut and came flying in from all directions to see what it was. They circled about, and then plunged down through the hole in the roof. When the house was almost full, the boys closed the hole in the roof. One of the boys then went to Aka and told him to come on with him. Aka entered the house and picked the feathers from the living birds, letting them go after they were picked. They could not fly, because they had no wing feathers. When Aka had enough feathers, he divided them among his crew for payment. After that they sailed home.

Notes

The story of Aka is from E.S. Craighill. Handy's *Marquesan Legends* (Honolulu: Bishop Museum 1930, 130-131). The story is from Puamau on the island of Hiva Oa.

Other versions of Aka's voyage to Aotona [Rarotonga] are found in Von den Steinem's *Marquesan Myths*, translated by Marta Langridge:

At the death feast for the chief Puakauooa in Ta'aoa [a valley on the southern coast of Hiva Oa], Aka and other heroes looked for flowers and fruits to make garlands for the women at the feast. They found tiare (gardenia), pua (flower), koute (hibiscus), puanetae, faa (pandanus fruit), hinano (pandanus flower), inou (a kind of lilac), katiu (a small cucumber), and hukou (a fruit); but Aka wasn't satisfied with these flowers because they wilted in the hot sun.

His two sons-in-law, Utunui and Pepeu, tell him: "Kula [red feathers] make the best ornaments."

When Aka asked, "Where can we get kula?" the two sons-in-law replied, "In Aotona; our father Mahaitivi knows how to get there." Then

Utunui and Pepeu went to their father's house at Poitopa [above Atuona on Hiva Oa] and asked him for directions. The father tells them the voyage is long and difficult and they must prepare lots of food—raw and cooked ma (fermented breadfruit), coconuts, raw and cooked taro, raw and cooked kape.

The father and two sons argued over how long the voyage woud take; the father saying seven months, and Utunui twelve. Utunui recited the twelve months: Pohe, Iti, Aoa-Manu, Mataiki, Ehua, Uaua, Uahaa-metao, Takuua, Veo, Nana, Tuhua, Napea. [These are names of the stars or constellations that served as guides to the months and seasons of breadfruit; in the Isles of Hiva, as in Hawai'i, the names of the stars and months and their order vary considerably according to different informants].

The father then explained that in Aotona, the voyagers would find the birds Matakia and Vaefati, who were his name friends (inoa, one with whom one has exchanged names, so that each has claim to the wife and property of the other)

The two boys returned to Aka and told him to build and provision a canoe as directed by their father had told them, and find paddlers. 140 men are found to man the double-hulled canoe and the voyagers leave. The first island they saw was Mohutane [a small island south of Hiva Oa]. Utunui asked the inhabitants what they use to make garlands. "Meie bark," was the reply. Aka said, "No good."

Then they arrive at Fatu Hiva [south of Mohutane]. Utunui asked the inhabitants what they use to make garlands. "Auona, a fragrant bouquet" is the reply. Aka said, "Not for my daughter. It wilts in the sun."

The canoe landed at the following islands of the Hiva group and learned what the people of each island used for garlands:

- Tahuata [north of Fatuiva]: garlands are made from Kiita [?];
- Fatu Huka [north of Hiva Oa]: garlands are made from feathers from the gannet and cape pigeon.
- Ua Huka [northwest of Fauuku]: garlands are made from tiare (gardenia)
- Ua Pou [southwest of Ua Huka]: garlands are made from pua (flower)
- Nuku Hiva [north of Ua Pou]: garlands are made from red eka (a dye)
- Eiao [northwest of Nuku Hiva]: garlands are made from fao

blossoms.

None of the isles of Hiva had the red feathers Aka and his son-in-laws were seeking. From Eiao, the canoe travelled west onto the open ocean. The star Iti appeared, “the star of the heavy sea, the star of the wind.” [This star marks the approach of the stormy months of the southern hemisphere winter, which begins in May.]

The star Iti said, “Whose canoe?”

Pepeu and Utunui said, “It belongs to us.”

Iti said, “Who are you?”

They responded: We are Pepeu and Utunui, Mahaitivi's boys. We are going to Aotona.”

The stars said, “Go on,” and they travelled on.

[Four more stars appear—Tuhua. Takuua, Veo, Mahina, and the same dialogue takes place.]

The voyage was so long, food and water ran out. One hundred of the paddlers died; forty men remained. The voyagers finally reached Fitinui, then Aotona. The chief Feafea welcomed them. After a nights rest, they build a house using coconut leaves lashing it together with hau bark cordage. They erected the posts, put up the crossbeam and rafters, arranged the coconut leaves, then thatched the roof with grass. They laid stakes along the wall and made a door. The next morning the men picked, peeled and grated coconut; then grated it and roasted it inside the house. The smell attracted a large flock of kula bird.

Two odd-looking birds approach to see if anyone is in the house—Matakika, a bird with an ulcerous face; Vaekoki, a lame bird; Then two birds came and mated. When no one in the house laughed, the birds went back and reported the house was deserted.

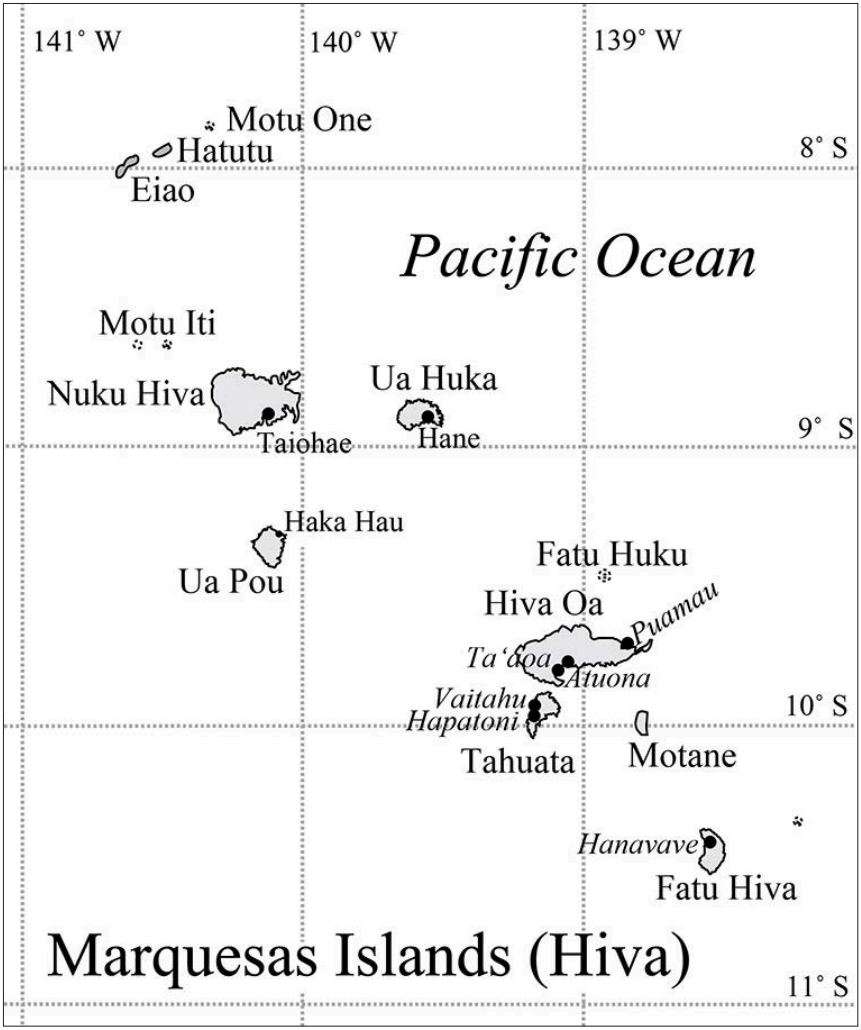
When the flock entered the house, Aka shut the door, and his men caught the birds and plucked their red feathers, filling 40 baskets for the forty survivors; Aka told them to fill 100 more for the children and the wives of the 100 men who had died; so the men filled the remaining 100 baskets. Then they let the birds go.

The next morning, the men prepared food for the voyage home, loaded the canoe with the food and the baskets of feathers, and departed. They paddled for a long time, as long as a large bread fruit harvest, then landed at Ta‘aoa (on Hiva Oa, their home island). The women on land saw that only a few men were returning; they lamented the men who were missing. Aka brought the baskets ashore and gave them to the women whose husbands had not survived.

Then Aka went to his house with his wife and daughter and two sons-in-law. The next day, Aka and his wife made a loincloth of kula feathers for their daughter, the wife of both Utunui and Pepeu. Utunui and Pepeu kept their baskets of feathers. Fao came down and bought Utunui's and Pepeu's feathers and made a garland for himself Others made the feathers into garlands, head ornaments (paekua) and loincloths for women and men.

[According to Rarotongan oral tradition, a red-feathered bird called the kura once lived on the island. It was associated with summer: “Summer comes, the kura is flying about.” The kura became extinct after guns were introduced to the islands by Westerners.

A red-feathered bird called a kula was also known in historical times in Fiji. Its red feathers were valued for ornamenting mats and headdresses. The feathers were traded with the Tongans, who then traded them with the Samoans. Captain Cook was able to trade in the Society Islands red feathers he had obtained in Tonga.]


141° W
140° W
139° W
Motu One
Hatutu
Eiao
8° S
Pacific Ocean
Motu Iti
Nuku Hiva
Ua Huka
Taiohae
Hane
9° S
Haka Hau
Ua Pou
Fatu Huku
Hiva Oa
Puamau
Ta'oa
Atuona
Vaitahu
Hapatoni
10° S
Tahuata
Motane
Hanavave
Fatu Hiva
Marquesas Islands (Hiva)
11° S

Pepe-iu

Toni [a *tau'a*, or inspirational priest] lived at Taiohae; Te-pua-i-mohui, a fisherman, was his son; Pepe-iu was his daughter. When the son went fishing, the daughter remained up in the valley with her father. Three times when Tepua-i-mohui returned from fishing, he gave none of his catch to his father and sister. The next time the young man went fishing, Toni dressed Pepe-iu in all her finery, anointed her head and body, and sent her to the seashore to await the return of the fishermen, along with the other people who had come for fish. Everyone marvelled at Pepe-iu's beauty.

When her brother returned he said, "Who is that pootu—that fine looking girl." They told him it was his sister. "Come and get your fish," he called to her.

Pepe-iu waded out in the shallow water with a basket. As Te-pua-i-mohui filled his sister's basket with mullet, he told the other men to paddle out. Pepe-iu was lured to follow the canoe out into deep water. When Pepe-iu came into deep water these fish began threshing about, tearing the girl's flesh. She ran to the shore and returned to her father, weeping and covered with wounds and blood. Toni asked her what had happened, and the girl recounted the story of her brother's mistreatment of her.

For three days Toni anointed his daughter every day. After the third day at midnight, he told Pepe-iu to take a handsome loin cloth and other ornaments. They went to the seashore, where there was a double canoe called Na-humu-o-Taka-oa. When the cock crew Toni told the girl to get into her canoe.

"But these are fish," said Pepe-iu.

"Never mind," replied her father, "this is your canoe."

When they put the canoe in the sea the two humu wriggled. "Now you will go to Aotoka. [My informant explained that this was Rarotonga.] When you have gone three or four days you will come to a land which says 'A-o, a-o, a-o, a-o.' That will be Aomeika. [Ao, low; meika, banana. Said by my informant to be the island of Tubuai.] You will pass by that land. You will sail on eight days longer and come to a land which says, 'Tup-ti, tup-ti, tup-ti, tup-ti." That is Aotoka."

The humu went off with the girl. They passed Aomeika and Oahuaa

as Toni had told them to do.

Finally, eight days after they had passed Oahuaa, Pepe-iu heard "Tup-ti, tup-ti, tup-ti, tup-ti, tup-ti."

"This is my Aotoka," said the girl.

"Long Humu, Short Humu, let us go up inland." Pepe-iu took her finery and the humu and carried them up into the temple named Aavehie. [This is also the name of a temple at Taiohae.]

Pepe-iu came to the bathing basin. The chief came, found her in his pool and claimed her as his woman. At that time the women of Aotoka did not know how to bear children. When a woman was with child, her abdomen was cut open to release the child and the woman died. Taro was their only food; they had no breadfruit. They ate their food raw, not knowing how to cook. Pepe-iu taught them how to do all these things.

Pepe-iu became pregnant and said to Tau-me-tini, "We will have to have breadfruit to feed the child. You must go to Hooumi and bring back some to plant." [According to my informant all the breadfruit were formerly in Hooumi, a valley on the southeast end of Nuku Hiva. There were no breadfruit trees in Taiohae.]

Now Tau-me-tini was a younger son. He had only two hundred and eighty men under him. Ohe-popo was his older brother; on his half of the island he had twenty-eight hundred men. Ohe-popo went to Hooumi before his younger brother was ready and brought back many branches of the breadfruit tree. These grew rapidly at first, and then died. [Breadfruit will grow only from young root stocks, or shoots.]

Pepe-iu instructed Tau-me-tini to make a canoe. This was finished in three moons.

She also instructed him to carry seven amakiko [kernels of candlenuts mounted on the midrib of a coconut leaf, the native house lamp]. These were to be used to keep awake the woman who owned the breadfruit trees until she was so sleepy that she could keep awake no longer.

Tau-me-tini arrived at Hooumi. For six successive nights he burned his amakiko, one each night. On the seventh night the woman fell into a heavy sleep. Tau-me-tini and his men, following Pepe-iu's advice, filled their canoe with roots and young sprouts of breadfruit. They were gone when the woman woke up. Tau-me-tini planted the roots on his side of Aotoka. The breadfruit trees grew and bore fruit.

The older brother, Ohe-popo, angered by his own lack of success with the breadfruit and at his younger brother's success, attacked Tau-me-tini and drove him with his woman and his two sons into the

mountains. They had no food and sent their two sons down to steal some breadfruit. The trees were guarded by two tuhuka, named Otu-puou-hooa and Ima-poka-haoa. These men caught the older of the boys up in a tree and carried him to the feast place. The boy was asked why he was stealing the chief's fruit. "For my mother," he said. "We have no food."

The two tuhuka then fell into an argument, one desiring to kill, the other to save, the boy. Finally he was brought to the chief who ordered an oven built on the feast place. Then the chief strangled, cooked, and ate the boy. Meanwhile Pepe-iu knew what was happening, so she told Tau-me-tini to go to Nukuhiva again, using the humu of Taka-oa as his canoe. She taught him her genealogy.

Tau-me-tini came back to Taiohae on the humu and recited the genealogy to Pepe-iu's people, thus identifying himself, and told of their unhappy plight. Toni, who was a taua (priest; Hawaiian kaula), had gone to Hakamoui, on the island of Ua Pou. Tau-me-tini went seeking him but when he reached Hakamoui, Toni had gone on before him to the next valley. So they went from valley to valley until at last, when they had made the complete circuit of the island, Tau-me-tini came up with the elusive inspirational priest.

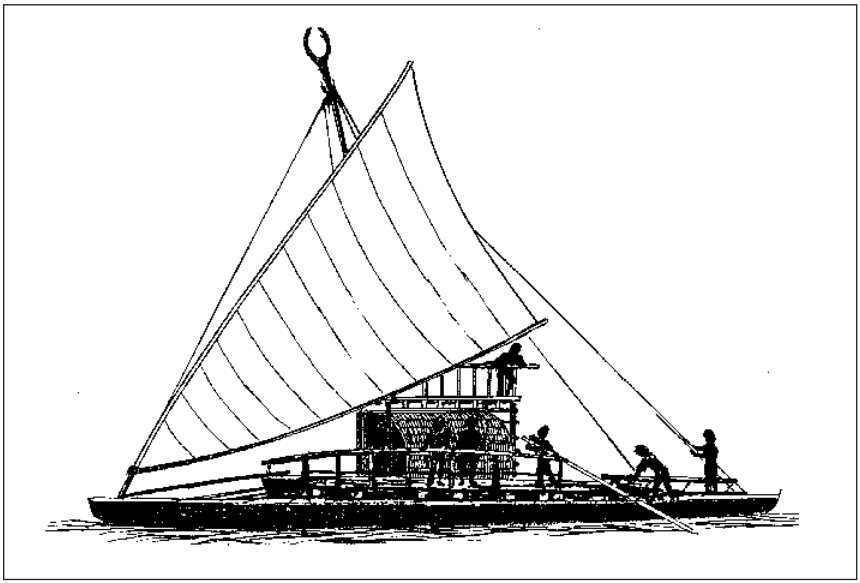
Tau-me-tini and Toni built the canoe Tia-te-ani for the expedition to Aotoka. Six other war canoes went with them with two hundred and eighty warriors in each. Toni's power (mana) supplied their food: on the first day out, they speared and captured a great skate. So it was with other fish every day.

In Aotoka, Pepe-iu saw one day a man's skull Iying in the sand, moving from side to side—she knew by this sign that her father was coming. When they arrived at Aotoka, the tuhuka who had recommended that Pepe-iu's son be killed when he was caught in the breadfruit tree, came out in the water, seized Tau-me-tini's canoe and attempted to pull it ashore. They caught him, dragged him out to sea, and cut off his head. The head was given to Pepe-iu's other son to wear on his loin cloth. [The wearing of heads or parts of heads of slain enemies on the loin cloth was the custom in war times.] Pepe-iu's people joined forces with Tau-me-tini's and attacked and defeated the warriors of the older brother, Ohe-popo, whom Tau-me-tini killed.

Notes

The story of Pepeiu is from Taiohae, Nukuhiva It appears in E.S.

Craighill Handy's *Marquesan Legends*. (Honolulu: Bishop Museum 1930, 127-129). At the end of the story Handy notes "my informant explained that when Tau-me-tini came to Taiohae, the father of his foster grandfather was living. My informant was at that time about sixty years of age.



Takitumu, a modern replica of a Cook Islands voyaging canoes: (1995)

Ru

Timi Koro

About twenty-eight generations ago our people lived on Tubuaki,[1] an island far to the east and north of Aitutaki [Southern Cook Islands]. The island was fertile and fishing was good, but during dry seasons food was scarce, and long-continued peace resulted in the island becoming over-crowded. The name of the ariki has been forgotten; he was a strong man but slow to anger. Among his people was a powerful young man named Ru, who was the chief navigator of the island, and always steered the canoes when visits were made to neighbouring islands. For generations his family had been navigators. Although not of royal blood, Ru was a man of good standing. He was a peace-loving man, but ambitious of becoming a leader, and viewed with concern the quickly-increasing population of the island.

Moved by a quarrel over headship of his clan, Ru began to make plans. He decided to build a large seaworthy canoe and call together his friends and relations to try to persuade enough of them to join him in searching for an uninhabited island somewhere toward the setting sun. He felt sure he would find land there and become a great chief. So Ru called together his four younger brothers—Taiteraiva, Taiteravaru, Ruatakina, and Verituamaroa—and asked them to go with him. At first the brothers were afraid and would not agree, saying, "Why leave our present home where life is carefree and happy, to die at sea?"

Ru replied, "That is woman's talk. I know the ways of the sea. I know the winds and the currents. Fear not, and I will take you to a larger and better land than this."

In the end the brothers agreed to go, saying, "If we live, we live; if we die, we die."

Ru now proposed to his four wives, Te Papa-kura, Ruiaau, Kipapa-eitara, and Ararau-enua, that they should leave their island. Being only recently married, and having as yet borne no children, they were afraid and answered, "We are afraid that we shall all be drowned at sea. Why leave our friends and relatives just to perish at sea?"

Ru replied, "I might have known that you women would prefer to stay at home and see your future children hungry. Don't you know that

I hold the sea and its ways in my hand, and the heavens are my chart? Listen to me, my wives, I am going, together with my four younger brothers. Join us and all will be well. Stay at home and you stay alone in disgrace."

After hastily taking council together, the four wives agreed to go, saying, "O Ru, we will go. If we die, we die; if we live, we live."

Ru replied, "My wives, you are worthy of a great husband. Now go into all the settlements and pick from the royal families twenty tapairu (good-looking young virgins), fit mothers for a new and strong race."

Going into the settlements his wives called out, "Who are the virgins of royal blood who would like to join our party?"

"For what purpose?" they were asked.

"We are going with our husband, Ru, and his four brothers to seek a new land."

Twenty suitable young women were soon chosen from those who wished to go. Unlike Ru's brothers and wives they raised no objections to the journey. Their names were as follows: Vaine-pururangi, Maine-teaoroa, Vovoaru, Arakitera, Te Aroitau, Te Nonoioiva, Tutunoa, Vaine-moana, Upoko-ara, Patapairu, Pau, Tuonoariki, Te Paku-oavaiki, Ruanoo, Arekaponga, Kava, Maine-pirouru, Tutapuiva, Pakiara, and Maine-pururangi. These twenty women, chosen for virtue, strength, and good looks, were brought before Ru who asked them, "Do you agree to go with us in search of a new land and home? We may be many days at sea, but will certainly find a home to suit us."

All together they answered him, "Yes, we wish to go."

A search was then made for two large tamanu trees suitable for a canoe for the voyage. The making of this canoe was a lengthy process. for the trees had to be felled and hewn out with stone adzes. When finished to Ru's satisfaction, the two hulls were hauled down to the beach and lashed together with no platform between them. This type of canoe was called "unurua." The day was spent in feasting and rejoicing. Ru named the canoe *Ngapuariki* (The two ariki, or supreme chiefs). It is not known whether this name was given on account of the ariki of the island and Ru, or whether it referred to the two hulls lashed together. After the launching, each brother and virgin was ordered to cut a strong paddle for use on the voyage. These paddles took three days to make, and when completed, they were examined by Ru.

Some further days were spent training for the coming voyage. The canoe and the mat-sails were tested, and much time was spent handling and paddling the canoe until the crew were proficient. For two days

friends and relatives assisted in gathering enough food for the voyage. Taro, puraka (pig), kuru (breadfruit), and a large supply of water were put on board. All record of how the water was carried has been lost. Some say it was carried in coconuts.

The next morning, the wind being favourable, Ru decided to set sail. The whole island came to say farewell to the twenty-nine voyagers. The reef was cleared, the sails were hoisted, and the canoe was headed toward the west, Ru taking the steering oar, and his brother Verituamaroa standing at the bow as pilot. Though conditions were favorable for the first two days, the women were sick as soon as the canoe was out of sight of the land. On the third day heavy clouds banked up, the wind, which had changed round, now blew strongly from the west, and the sea was so rough that the women and men had to take turns bailing the canoe; she was riding heavily owing to the hulls being new and deeply laden. As the wind grew stronger and the sea became rougher, Verituamaroa grew frightened and advised Ru to turn back and run for home before the wind. But Ru heartened them by saying that it was only a passing squall. Soon they were all pleading with him to turn back, but he answered, "Listen, my brothers, my wives, and all you virgins: I, Ru, know all the secrets of the sea. I hold the sea in my hand, and will bring you all through safely. Don't be afraid. Put down the sail and paddle the canoe head into the seas. Soon the worst will be over. Oe te vaka, oe te vaka."

As soon as the sails were lowered, the canoe began to lose way and huge waves broke over her keeping all busy bailing. Through all the noise and wailing, Ru could be heard laughing and encouraging his crew the night through. When morning broke, even Ru was a little afraid for a terrific sea was running. So tired were his people that it was almost impossible to keep the canoe head on to the sea. Again and again they begged Ru to turn back, but still he kept on. At last one of the brothers persuaded him to pray to Tangaroa for help, and this is what he said:

Tangaroa, supreme above,
Tangaroa, supreme below,
Sweep away these angry clouds,
So that Ru's people can reach the land.

[Tangaroa i te Titi,
Tangaroa i te Tata

Eu eu ake ana te rangi,
Kia tae atu te tere o Ru ki uta i te enua.]

Soon the wind began to abate, and the sea grew calmer. Ru's brothers, noting the change, persuaded him to pray again. It was not long before the sun came out and the wind swung round to the right quarter. The water was bailed out, the sails were set, and the canoe was put on a westerly course. Favourable weather continued for the next two days. Each night Ru checked his course by a star. On the third afternoon after the storm Verituamaroa, who was still at the bow of the canoe, cried out that he could see land ahead. Some thought that he might be deceived by a bank of clouds, but soon the voyagers could see breakers on a reef. All now gazed eagerly at the new land. After a search, a suitable passage was found, the sails were taken down, and the women were ordered to paddle the canoe in. Night was coming on, but there was a full moon (ootu). Half way through the passage the canoe was stranded on a coral patch, and all had to get out to haul her off. As they pulled, they sang a song asking for the waves to come and float the canoe. The song is still sung today by the old people when they launch their canoe.

The canoe still stuck fast and it was impossible to move it, so the brothers were sent to a small island nearby to cut down some ara (pandanus trees) for rollers. The canoe came off the rocks with a rush, and Veri who was near the bows was crushed underneath as the canoe passed right over him. The others ran to help him but he was dead. They carried his body to the canoe, which was now inside the lagoon, and they wailed as they did so. After dragging the canoe over a sand-bank, they paddled to a small island about two miles from the mainland where they decided to spend the night. Because of Veri's death, the voyagers got little sleep that night.

Early next morning, before they started, Ru called his crew together and named the places they had so far touched at; the passage he named Ootu-te-po, meaning "the night of the full moon"; the rocks on which the canoe grounded he called Popo-ara, referring to the timber used as rollers; the small island from which the timber had been cut was named Ootu, while the one on which they had spent the night was called Uritua-o-Ru. The brothers took exception to Ru adding his own name to the latter, but he answered, "You have no say in the naming of these places. I am the eldest son and will name the places as I think fit."

The canoe set out for the mainland, the women paddling, but

progress was slow owing to the shallow water. Even when everybody was out of the canoe it was found necessary to send the women on ahead to dig a channel with their paddles. The task was a difflcult one, and as they were already tired Ru was compelled to give them several rests before the canoe was once more in deep water. Once more the brothers were offended because Ru named the water Tai-moana-o-Ru, and the big island to which he was bringing them Utataki-enua-o-Ru-ki-te-moana, meaning "a land searched for and found upon the sea by Ru."[2] They assured Ru that had they known this would happen they would never have left their land.

As they paddled for the mainland they kept time to a song about the voyage of Ru's canoe *Ngapuariki* from Hawaiki to Aitutaki:

Ngapuariki te vaka o Ru
Tei tere mai mei Avaiki e
Ko *Ngapuariki* te vaka o Ru
Tei tere mai mei Avaiki e
I tere tu mai ki konei
Ki Utataki-enua
Na te vaka o Ru-enua i katiri mai
To tatou enua.

This song, which is known as Ru's Canoe-song, is still sung to-day.

The canoe was hidden in a small creek on the mainland, and the name given to the place was Maitai. The creek was named Vai-tiare ("the water of tiare flowers"). Leaving the others behind Ru climbed a hill nearby looking for a suitable place to build a new home. After they had buried Veri, they marked off a marae which they named Te Autapu. A marae is a place marked off with stones to be used for all meetings and for praying to their gods. The setting up of a marae by a chief was usually done with much ceremony, but as Ru was not of the royal family, the ceremony of dedicating Te Autapu was not elaborate. Near the marae they built their first houses. Finding the island uninhabited, Ru divided it among the twenty virgins, as they were of royal blood and consequently had first claim to the land. Ru told them that they were as mats on the floor, as other canoes were bound to come sooner or later bringing men with them. On these mats the men would sleep, and from them this new land would be populated. As the island appeared to be shaped like a big fish he named the end on which they landed Te Upoko-o-te-enua (The head of the land), the middle Tuenua (The belly),

and the end Nuku-manini.

After they had been some time on the island, Ru's four wives bore children. Ararau-enua bore the first one, a boy, which Ru named Ararau-enua-o-Ru-ki-te-moana, meaning "Ru looking for land on the sea." Te Papa-kura had a baby boy who was named Te-upoko-o-te-enua, meaning "The head of the land." Ruiaau's baby girl was named Araau, and the fourth, a baby boy, was named Tupa.

Some time later Ru's brothers came to him and asked him to help them build a big canoe, saying that they wanted to go and look for new islands. At first Ru would not agree to this, but when they promised to return he decided to help them. When finished, the canoe was named Te Rito-o-araura (The best of Ututaki-enua). A large supply of food and water was placed on board and when they were ready to sail, Ru asked them to tell him why they really wished to leave this land.

"Ru, the night we arrived here," they said, "our youngest brother was killed on the reef. You have named nothing here after him to keep his name in our memories. You have named nothing after us. You have taken all the power into your own hands. You have given all the land to the women and none to us. This land is yours, and so we are going to seek a fresh land for ourselves."

Ru realized his mistake too late. He pleaded with them to return. They promised that either they or their children would return. Then the canoe set sail for the open sea, where an argument took place as to the course they should set. Two were in favour of returning to their old home, but Taiteraiva, the eldest, pointed out that if they reached that land they would be no better off and would not be men of rank. They decided to go south. Little is known of the voyage except that the first land they sighted was New Zealand. Off the coast of New Zealand they struck bad weather and suffered much from cold. It is believed that they landed near Tauranga and proceeded inland to Rotorua, where they were well received and kindly treated by the natives they found living there. It is claimed in Aitutaki that Taiteraiva named Rotorua, naming it so on account of the lake reminding them of the lagoon at Ututaki-enua, which was known as Rototai (roto = lake; tai, ta'i, or tahi = first; rua = second).

The brothers married women belonging to the ruling families and thus became men of rank and standing. It is believed that their descendants are to be found among the Ngati Arawa [the Arawa clan] today. The three brothers never returned to Ututaki-enua, but it is claimed here that a canoe came later from New Zealand bringing their

sons or grandsons, who settled here, and it was from them that the story of the voyage of the Te Rito-o-araura was learnt. Their names and the name of their canoe have been lost.

The places named by Ru still have the same names today, with the exception of the name of the island, which is supposed to have been changed by the first Ra'iātean missionaries to whom the word Ututaki sounded as Aitutaki. Ru's marae can still be seen, and the passage, the coral patch upon which the canoe grounded, the sand-banks, and the small islands, are exactly as described in the story.

All the mataipo (district chiefs) today can trace their descent back to the twenty royal virgins who came with Ru, but the ariki trace their descent back to an ariki, or chief, named Ruatapu who came later in the third canoe to arrive on the island.

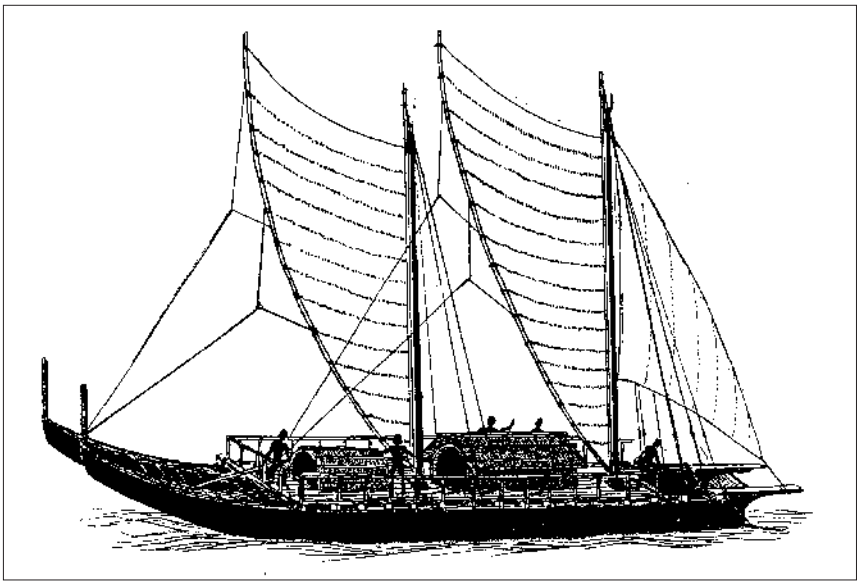
Notes

The story of Ru was recorded by Drury Low from the words of Timi Koro, of Ureia settlement, who died at Aitutaki on November 3, 1933. Timi Koro was tumu korero of Aitutaki. This traditional account was published in *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, Vol. 43, 1934, pp. 17-24.

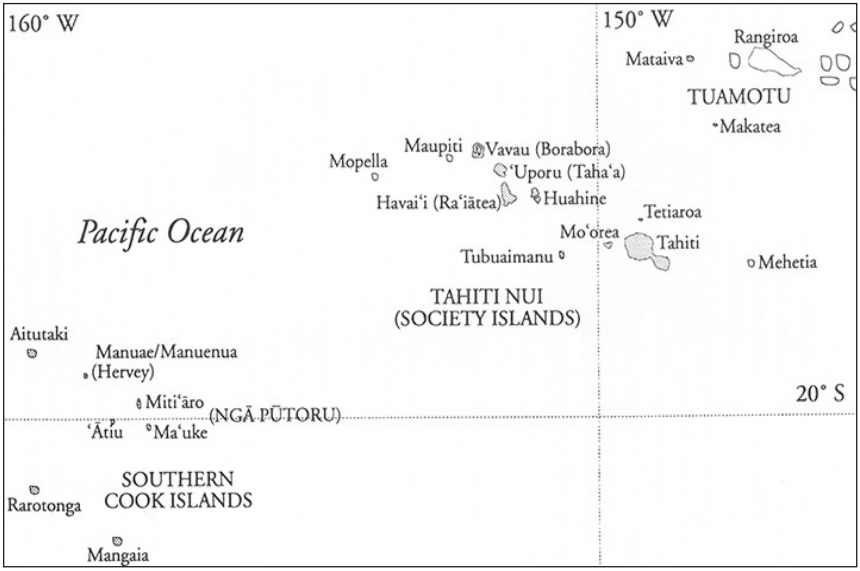
1. An island called Tubuai lies southeast of Aitutaki in the Australs. An island named Tubuai-manu lies E by N of Aitutaki", just west of Mo'orea in Tahiti Nui (Society Islands); it is perhaps to this second Tubuai that the storyteller names as the home island of Ru. However, Peter H. Buck says that Ru came from Havai'i (Ra'iātea), which is located 500 miles E by N of Aitutaki (101).

2. The island to which Ru sailed is now called Aitutaki. Te Rangi Hiroa (Peter H. Buck) interprets the original name in another way: "[The name] Utataki-enua-o-Ru-ki-te-moana … was derived from utauta, a cargo, and taki, to lead. It refers to Ru leading the valuable human cargo over the sea. Another name given to the island is Ararau-enua-o-Ru-ki-te-moana. 'Ararau' is 'to search for land at sea with a canoe,' and the name applied to the island refers to Ru's search on the ocean. The first name was shortened to Aitutaki, and the second to Araura. 'Araura' should be spelt 'Arahura,' and it is difficult to see how it is connected with 'ararau.' The meaning of 'ararau' is significant of

a period when many voyages of discovery were undertaken.…" (*The Material Culture of the Cook Islands*, Honolulu: Bishop Museum, 1927, p. xix)



Te Au Tonga, a modern replica of a Cook Islands voyaging canoes (1995)



Cook Islands and Tahiti Nui: the setting of the three migration stories that follow (Ru, Te Erui Ariki, and Ruatapu)

Te Erui Ariki

Timi Koro

About twenty-six generations ago, on the island of Kuporu (Taha‘a) in a group called ‘Avaiki (Tahiti Nui), far to the north and east of Aitutaki, lived a young Maori ariki named Te Erui. He was the eldest son of the ariki, or supreme chief, of Kuporu. This island was not large, but it had a big lagoon, and the fishing there was good. This island was noted for its canoes, and the people of the island were in the habit of making voyages in them to other islands, some of which were close at hand, while others took some days to reach. Sometimes they stayed away on these visits for months at a time.

On all these voyages the young ariki Te Erui was the leader, and always took the steering-paddle of the leading canoe. On Kuporu he was recognized as the best of all the young canoe-men. He was strong and fearless, and skilled in the art of canoe-making.

On the island of Kuporu in normal seasons food was plentiful, but the island was becoming over-populated owing to a long reign of wise chiefs, who had put down all tribal fighting and had forbidden their young men to go raiding in their canoes to other islands. Soon after returning home from a long visit to a distant island, Te Erui asked permission of his father to build a new double-canoe for a long voyage to the south and west in search of new islands, as for many years there had been rumors of uninhabited land in that quarter. At first his father would not listen to this, fearing to lose his son, as well as doubting the existence of any such islands.

But as time went on and his son persisted, he at last gave his consent. But he made Te Erui promise to spend a specified number of days at sea in search of land, and to return to Kuporu if he failed to find land within the time limit.

If, on the other hand, he discovered a suitable uninhabited island, he was to return when rested to Kuporu and take back with him as many of his own people as could live on the new island. The ariki pointed out that Kuporu was already over-populated, and should a long drought occur, lfie would be hard for them. Te Erui readily promised to do all his father asked.

During the next few days a start was made on the new double-hulled canoe; two large tamanu trees were chosen as suitable for making the hulls. The felling of these two trees took over two weeks; it was done by heating stones and placing the red hot stones around the trunk of the tree at ground level; when the stones got cold they were replaced with fresh hot ones. The wood thus weakened, the trees were felled with stone adzes. The day the last tree fell was given over to resting and feasting, and the following day the shaping of the hulls began. All the men on the island skilled in canoe-making helped out. The work took over half a year. When at last the work were completed, all the island turned out and helped drag the logs down to the lagoon-side. Masts and sails were now made. This done, the canoe was tried out in the lagoon. Te Erui took the steering paddle and was pleased with her sailing and handling. He named his new canoe Viripo-moetakauri, and one of the masts he named Tuterangimarama; this class of double-canoe was called katea.

A meeting of all the island was then called by the old ariki to arrange for the gathering of food for the coming voyage. At this meeting the taunga (wise man) of the tribe warned Te Erui against starting on his voyage. Te Erui would not heed this warning, saying that it was he who was to steer the canoe and that he was not afraid. His father was also against his leaving. In vain they tried to persuade Te Erui to put off his voyage till later, but Te Erui would not listen and was in a hurry to be gone. Food was gathered and prepared—dried fish and dried paua (shell fish), kuru (bread fruit), taro, coconuts, and puraka (pig). The water was stored in bamboos, gourds, and also in coconuts.

When the provisions was ready, another meeting was called, and at this meeting Te Erui was made a high chief. He chose the men to go with him as his crew, among them his three younger brothers whose names were Matareka, Tavi, and Tava. The crew were all chosen for their strength and courage, as well as for their skill as canoe-men. Next morning the food and water were carefully stowed in the canoe, and the crew said farewells to all friends and relatives. The old ariki was overcome with grief. He told them all to remember their promises and not to disgrace him.

Sails were now set and the canoe headed for the passage; this passed, sails were trimmed and the canoe went before the wind, Te Erui took the steering paddle, and Matareka went up to the bow to act as pilot. The first day at sea the wind was strong and fair, and the canoe made good way, but in the night the wind grew stronger. When morning

dawned the sun rose red and threatening, the sky was overcast, and the sea grew very rough. All morning the wind increased and the seas grew in size; by midday a gale was blowing. In the afternoon the wind increased even more, and the sea was still rougher. Fearing a hurricane, Te Erui's brothers begged him to turn back before it was too late, but Te Erui would not agree, saying the canoe could weather the storm. Te Erui sailed on. Then late in the afternoon, a sudden gust of wind carried away one mast, and tore both sails. Te Erui now tried to save as much as possible of what was left of his sails. One broken mast was saved and lashed to the canoe, which was then brought head on into the wind. An attempt was made to paddle the canoe back to Kuporu. All night the brothers paddled, keeping the canoe head on to the seas. When morning dawned, the wind and sea began to diminish.

About mid-day the brothers commenced repairing the sails. The broken mast was lashed together again; short as it was, it served for the sail that was left. As darkness set in the sail was once more hoisted and the canoe started homeward. All night the brothers took turns at steering and sleeping. The morning dawned clear and the wind veered a little, enabling the canoe to make better headway. Seven days and nights were spent in this way, but as the weather was fine, Te Erui was sure of making landfall. On the eighth morning land was sighted, and they were soon close enough to discern that it was Kuporu. Late that afternoon the canoe was once more safely through the passage and soon reached the shore where all the people, having seen it approaching, had been waiting for some time.

The chief was overjoyed at seeing his sons again, and the canoe was quickly brought ashore. The four brothers were taken home and fed and made much of. Then a meeting of all the leading people was called. The taunga's advice was sought, and he was asked why the canoe had met such bad weather and had been nearly lost. He told them that it was on account of the name Te Erui had given the canoe; the name of the masts were also wrong. The old ariki was very much against his sons going to sea again, but said that if they insisted he would have another new canoe made for them, hoping in this way to keep them with him for some time. Te Erui, however, would not agree, saying that his canoe had proven itself to be a good, strong sailing vessel. In this the taunga sided with Te Erui, saying that if he renamed the canoe and masts, the canoe would be safe and they would meet with no more bad weather at sea. Te Erui agreed, and the old ariki had to be satisfied.

Next morning everybody went to the beach where the taunga

renamed the two hulls Rangi-pai-uta and Rangi-pai-tai; the two masts he named Tanaroa and Rongo after the two gods; the fore-stay for the mast he named Ikumanavenave-mua and the back-stay he named Ikumanavenave-muri; the wooden bailer he named Auaumarorenge, and the sail he named Rā. Three days were spent on the island while new sails were made and a new mast fitted. After the canoe was repaired, a new supply of food and water placed on board.

As before, all were there to see the voyagers depart. Again the four brothers took their places. Once more on reaching the sea, Te Erui took the steering paddle, and Matareka acted as pilot. This time the canoe met fair winds and good weather and the sea was smooth. Nine days and nights were spent at sea but early on the morning of the tenth day, land was sighted a little to the westward of the canoe. The course was altered to bring the land ahead. Late in the afternoon the canoe was close in to the reef and a number of small islands were seen, also a large lagoon, and a little further on the mainland. Te Erui kept the canoe close in to the reef, telling Matareka, who was acting pilot, to keep a good look out for a suitable passage into the lagoon, as he did not want to spend the night at sea.

Shortly after this, smoke was noticed coming from the island, though at first Te Erui and his brothers had thought the land uninhabited. The canoe sailed on round the island until they came to the northwest side where a good passage was noticed. Here Te Erui had the sails taken in and as these were being lowered, he and his brothers saw two men who appeared to be fishing on the reef. The canoe was paddled toward the passage, and was soon safe inside the lagoon.

One of the men fishing on the reef came over close to the canoe. He was Tupa, a son of Ru. Te Erui asked his permission to go ashore, but Tupa began to threaten Te Erui and refused to allow him to land. He told Te Erui that beyond was the open sea and he must turn his canoe about and go back and look for a land for himself. This made Te Erui very angry and he shouted, "You do not know to whom you are talking. I am Te Erui, an ariki from 'Avaiki and a toa (warrior)." With that he leapt out of his canoe, which was still in shallow water near the reef, and taking hold of Tupa quickly killed him.

Just inside the passage they met the other fisherman, and again Te Erui asked permission to go ashore. This man's name was Mokoroa. He also told them that he was a son of Ru, who owned the island, and that Te Erui and his brothers could not go ashore but must turn back and again put to sea and go in search of a land for themselves. This made

Te Erui very angry, and to Mokoroa he shouted, “Don’t you know that I am Te Erui, an ariki from ‘Avaiki and a famous toa.” Then he jumped out of the canoe and killed Mokoroa also. When Mokoroa was dead Te Erui ripped out his stomach, and throwing the entrails into the harbor or passage, named the place Ngakau (“Entrails”). He then tore out Mokoroa’s tongue and threw it into the other side of the passage which he named Arero (“Tongue”). Taking Mokoroa’s body in the canoe, they paddled in towards shore, but Te Erui soon stopped the canoe, and cutting off one of Mokoroa’s legs, threw it into the lagoon. He named this place Te Turio-Mokoroa. To this day these names are still known and used.

Again the crew paddled toward shore and the place where they landed Te Erui named Kakeu-te-rangi. That night the brothers slept on the beach close to the canoe, fearing that they might be surprised and set upon for the killing of Tupa and Mokoroa.

Next morning on going a little way inland, Te Erui and his brothers could see no signs of people, houses, or clearings. They quickly set to work to get some food—crabs and shellfish from the lagoon.

After a meal, Te Erui and his brothers began to make Te Erui’s marae. A suitable place was chosen on a high piece of land close by. This work was called“ au te marae,” or “marking off a piece of land.” As a rule the land was marked off with stones, and many of the bigger marae were paved with flat stones. These marae were used as places for praying to their gods, and for all important meetings, such as those conducted before wars, or battles, or fighting. Sometimes when a near relative was killed in battle, the enemy who had killed him would be a marked man. If this man were later killed by the victim’s friends and family, his head would be brought to the marae, and there eaten by them as a sign of their anger, and also with the idea of giving them added power and strength in future battles. The brothers completed the marae that day, and Te Erui named it Kakeu-te-rangi, which name it still bears.

That night the party returned to the beach and slept near their canoe. On the second morning they arose early, gathered some food, and made a hasty meal. Just as they were finishing it, a man was seen approaching from the beach. He came close and called out, telling them that he was a son of Ru, whose island this was, and asking who they were and whence they came.

Te Erui replied, “I am Te Erui, an ariki from ‘Avaiki and a famous toa. With me are my three brothers—Matareka, Tavi, and Tava—also men strong in battle.” Here Te Erui pointed to the canoe and said, “This

is our canoe called Rangi-pai-ta, Rangi-pai-uta, and in it we came from our home in Kuporu, where our father is chief of all."

To this Ru's son answered, "I am named Utataki-enua-o-Ru-ki-te-moana and I am Ru's first born son." He then told them that he had come at his father's request to take Te Erui and his brothers to Ru, who had heard of their arrival and waited for them at his house some distance away.

Te Erui told him to lead the way, and they would follow.

A short distance along the beach they turned off into the bush and soon arrived in sight of Ru's home, which was built atop a small hill. Here the brothers met Ru with his four wives, and two daughters named Araau and Pitoroa. The brothers were quick to notice the absence of men, while there were many women. Ru made them welcome and had food placed before them. After the meal, Ru asked them who they were and whence they came. Te Erui answered him and in turn questioned Ru. Ru told them who he was, saying that he and his four brothers, named Taiteraiva, Taiteravaru, Rutakina, and Virituamaroa; his four wives, named Te Papa-kura, Ruiaau, Kipapa-eitara, Ararau-enua; and twenty virgins had arrived in a canoe named Nga-puariki from Tubuaki. Ru said, "I have only three sons, the first-born named Utataki-enua-o-Ru-ki-te-moana, the second Tupa, and the third Mokoroa."

Te Erui replied, "You have only one son left. Two days ago Tupa and Mokoroa refused to allow us to come ashore, so I killed them."

On hearing this, Ru and his wives were very much upset and Ru said, "If only I were your age, or if my brothers were still with me on the island, it would go hard with you and your brothers."

Te Erui laughed: "Leave fighting and talk of fighting to younger and stronger men. I have yet to meet my equal in battle."

Realizing that he was no match for the younger and stronger man, and that the island was big, and the women were in need of men, Ru decided not to seek revenge. Te Erui and his brothers stayed that night with Ru, but early next morning returned to the marae Kakeu-te-rangi and started to build their new homes nearby.

They remained at this place only about three months. After they chose a much more suitable site, they moved to it. Te Erui built a new marae and named it Aurupe-te-rangi, as it is still known today.

Having completed the marae, they started to build a small settlement at a place which Te Erui called Ureia, still known as such. Here Te Erui lived until the new houses were built and then to his two brothers Tavi and Tava he gave the new settlement, while he and Matareka moved

to another place about a mile to the south. This was situated on higher ground and nearer to Ru's settlement. Here he built another marae which he named Reureu-i-te-mata-o-Te Erui-ariki, meaning "This represents the eyes of Te Erui ariki."

Soon after this, Te Erui took as his wife Ru's daughter Pitoroa, who was very beautiful, and about the same time each of his three brothers married one of the royal virgins brought to Aitutaki by Ru.

By his wife Pitoroa, Te Erui had one child, a boy whom he named Taruia. Te Erui was now ariki of the island. As Ru was not of royal family, he was content to let Te Erui become ariki and do all the work. When Taruia had grown into a big boy and was old enough to go out fishing, his grandfather, Ru, slowly sickened and died. At his death the whole island was overcome with sorrow, as Ru was very much loved. His four wives were still alive.

When Taruia had grown into a young man, his father Te Erui was taken ill and died very suddenly, and on his death Taruia was made ariki. By this time the population of the island was increasing. All Te Erui's brothers had large families. For the first few years of Taruia's chieftainship things were quiet and peaceful, Taruia himself being a strong, quiet man.

One day word was brought to Taruia that another canoe had landed on the eastern side of the island, and only one man had come in it. Taruia asked who he was and whence he had come, but could learn very little about him beyond the fact that he was a young man, very tall, powerful, and handsome. He was living in a settlement named Vaitupa on the other side of the island.

Some years later one of Taruia's people came running to him one day with a canoe made of coconut leaves, which he had picked up as it was sailing along in the lagoon close to the beach. He had never before seen anything like it. Taruia took it from him and examined it carefully, questioning the finder as to where it had come from. When given all the particulars, Taruia told those gathered about him that it was a sign that on the island was another ariki. "This," he said, "is a sign from one ariki to another. Considering where it was found and the direction of the wind, it must have come from Ruatea. Go there quickly and if you find a strange man, bring him to me."

The man at once set off and when he reached Ruatea, he found a strange man sitting down close to the beach. He told the stranger that he had been sent to bring him to Taruia and they returned together. Taruia then asked the stranger who he was, whence he came, and what he was

doing on the island.

He replied, "I am Ruatapu, an ariki from Taputapuātea on the island of Ra'iātea. I am on a voyage to visit new islands."

This pleased Taruia, who insisted upon Ruatapu making his home with him, saying that the two ariki should live together. Taruia then called for food for Ruatapu, who agreed to live with Taruia.

[*Ruatapu eventually usurped the rule of Utataki-enua-o-Ru (Aitutaki) from Taruia after tricking Taruia into leaving for Rarotonga. Taruia gathered a number of Rarotongan warriors and sailed back to Utataki-enua-o-Ru, but was defeated in battle and driven away by Ruatapu and his supporters*. (See the story of Ruatapu for an account of these events.)]

The few of Taruia's followers who were left with him in his canoe then ceased fighting, and Taruia headed his canoe northward. They sailed on, eventually reaching an island named Mangarongaro (Penrhyn, about 600 miles north of Aitutaki). This voyage, even with good weather all the way, took nearly three weeks, and they arrived there very weak and exhausted for want of food. The passage they sailed through from the sea into the lagoon Taruia named after himself, Taruia-ariki, still known by that name to-day.

On reaching the shore Taruia and his followers were welcomed by the people of Mangarongaro and were kindly treated. Here they remained. Taruia took as a wife a woman named Rakoa by whom he had a child, a boy named Ruatitau, who, when he became a man married a woman named Toua. Two children were born to them, the first a boy named Uaapu, the second a boy named Roaina.

When Uaapu grew up, he had a canoe built for himself and when it was finished, he had it loaded with food and water. He then set out alone for the land of his fathers, Utataki-enua-o-Ru. He struck good weather during part of the voyage, good winds and smooth seas, but when about halfway he ran into heavy rain squalls which lasted two days. Fifteen days Uaapu spent at sea before reaching Utataki-enua-o-Ru. On his arrival he was met by a number of people, and when he told them who he was and where he had come from, he was made welcome by his own relatives and taken to live with them in the settlement of Reureute-mata-o-Te Erui. Here he was treated as one of themselves. Not yet was he given any rank of standing or importance owing to his being of mixed blood.

Soon after arriving, Uaapu took as a wife, a woman named Auariki,

and they had a son whom they named Uri. He, in turn, when he grew to manhood, married a woman named Utiki. They had a son whom they named Ranginui. Now Ranginui's mother, Utiki, was of the royal family, and at her death it was decided to make Ranginui ariki of Reureu as he was really of the royal family on both sides. After many meetings and much talk Ranginui was eventually elected Te Urukura-ariki, he being the first of that line to be so elected. At the present time the family are still ariki (supreme chiefs or chiefesses) of Reureu, a woman, Teurukura-ariki, being the head of her race today. (The marae made by Te Erui and named by him Reureu-i-te-mata-o-Te Erui-ariki was very well made, and can still easily be traced. Some of the stone seats are also still to be seen.)

Notes

The story of Te Erui Ariki was recorded by Drury Low from the words of Timi Koro (See notes to the story of Ru.). This account of Te Erui Ariki was published in *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, Vol. 43, 1934, pp. 72-84. Another account is found in "The First Inhabitants of Aitutaki" by John Pakoti (translated by Henry Nicholas), in *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, Vol. 4, 1895, pp. 66-67.

Penrhyn
Rakahanga
Pukapuka
Northern Group
Manihiki
Nassau
Suwarrow
Cook Islands
Palmerston
Aitutaki
Manuae
Southern Group
Mitiaro
Takutea
Atiu
Mauke
Rarotonga
Mangaia

Ruatapu

Timi Koro

Twenty-seven or twenty-eight generations ago on an island called Taputapuātea [Ra‘iātea or Havai‘i], which is far to the north and east of Ututaki Enua [Aitutaki], lived a young chief of royal blood named Ruatapu. He was the only son of Uanuku Rakeiora, an ariki or high chief of that island. From boyhood Ruatapu had been fond of canoes, and he had made many short voyages to neighboring islands. Ruatapu grew up to be a tall, strong, and handsome young man. While still young he decided to build a canoe to search for a new island where he could become ariki. To this end he approached his father, Uanuku, who at last gave his consent.

With the help of others skilled in canoe work, Ruatapu made a new canoe out of a tamanu tree and when it was at last finished he named it Te Kare-roa-i-tai (Sea Foam) and lost no time in stocking it with food and water. Early one morning he sailed alone from Taputapuātea in search of new lands. Keeping his canoe running before the prevailing southeast tradewinds he made Rarotonga eight or nine days later. He landed at a small harbor named Avarau where he was met by some of the inhabitants who welcomed and fed him.

The first man he met was named Potiki-taua, the chief of the village of Avana-nui where they were. Ruatapu asked, “Who is the chief of the island?” Potiki-taua told him it was Tangiia.

Ruatapu also asked if there were many people living on the island, and was told that the island was full of people.

Ruatapu settled down at Avana-nui, and shortly after took as wife a woman named Uanuku-kaiatia. They had a male child and named him Tamaiva. When the child was about four years old Ruatapu, who had grown tired of Rarotonga, decided to leave the island. So once again he put to sea alone in search of other islands.

After spending many days and nights at sea he sighted a large island. On reaching the shore the first person he met was a woman. Ruatapu asked her the name of the island, how many people were living there, and also the name of the ariki. The woman replied that the island

was called Tonga-tapu, that the ariki's name was Kaukura, and that the island was full of people. Ruatapu also asked the woman her name and was told that it was Tapotu-ki-Tonga. Ruatapu made up his mind that as the people already had an ariki, this island was no place for him to stay at, so he asked the woman if he could stay with her a few days in order to rest before continuing his journey. Tapotu-ki-Tonga agreed and took him to her house and fed him. Ruatapu grew fond of Tapotu-ki-Tonga and stayed on. They had a child which they named Moenau ("Sleeping together").

While Moenau was still very young Ruatapu decided to move on, but first he sent his son Moenau to Rarotonga with his grandfather, a noted canoe voyager named Rangiura. Ruatapu told Rangiura that on arrival at Rarotonga he was to place Moenau with his half-brother Tamaiva, son of Ruatapu's Rarotongan wife. To this, his wife Tapotu-ki-Tonga agreed. Rangiura built a new canoe for the voyage and when it was finished he named it Pouara. Ruatapu told Rangiura that he would find Uanuku-kaiatia, the mother of Tamaiva, living in the settlement of Matavera. Soon after this Rangiura and his grandson sailed from Tonga-tapu and later arrived safely at Rarotonga.

During the voyage Moenau had been very much afraid, and on getting close to the reef at Rarotonga begged Rangiura to take him quickly ashore or else he would die. As the sea broke heavily on the reef, Rangiura wanted to take time to find a suitable passage to make a landing, but fearing that Moenau might die if not landed at once, he tried to shoot the reef. The canoe was upset and smashed, and Moenau was swept some distance away by the waves. Rangiura swam after him and brought him safely ashore, then went after the broken canoe and brought it ashore. The place where the canoe capsized he named Vaenga ("The place where we parted"); the place where they landed he named Pouara after his canoe.

Rangiura asked some people who had come to the beach where Tamaiva, son of Ruatapu, was to be found. A man named Anga offered to take Rangiura and Moenau to him. On meeting Tamaiva and his mother, Rangiura explained who he was and said that it was Ruatapu's wish that Moenau should live with them in Rarotonga. This did not please Tamaiva or his mother, who were jealous of Moenau. They asked where Ruatapu was. On being told that he was at Tonga-tapu, they told Rangiura they did not want to take charge of Moenau and that he had better take Moenau away to some other islands called Ngāpūtoru,

referring to ʻĀtiu, Maʻuke, and Mitiʻāro, where they said Moenau would become a man of rank and also have plenty of flying-fish to eat.

Rangiura and Moenau were very much angered on hearing this, and Rangiura decided that as soon as they had rested and he had repaired his canoe or obtained another, they would continue on to Ngāpūtoru as he would not leave Moenau where the boy was not wanted.

Five days later, after resting and repairing the canoe, Rangiura and Moenau left Rarotonga for Ngāpūtoru. This time they struck very bad weather at sea. Weak and exhausted, Rangiura at last reached Maʻuke, but when trying to reach shore, he was killed on the reef. Moenau, however, was rescued by the people of Maʻuke, taken ashore, and well treated.

Some years later when he had grown into a strong, young man Moenau married a Maʻuke woman named Te Kaumarokura. A son was born whom they named Te Aukura-ariki-ki-Mauketau.

Moenau, who had by this time grown into a very big and powerful man, was very proud of his size and strength and also of the fact that he was a son of Ruatapu. He would seldom go fishing, but would go down to the beach and meet the canoes coming in from fishing. He would then help himself to any fish he fancied, often taking all the fish from one canoe and leaving the owner to go home hungry without any fish for his family. This made the Maʻuke men very angry but for a long time they suffered in silence, being afraid of Moenau's size and strength.

At last they met secretly and planned to kill him. Two of the strongest fighting men were asked to ambush Moenau and kill him with spears; but they would not agree, saying that Moenau was more than a match for any six men on the island, and would surely kill them. In the end they decided to try to kill him by using what they called "kaa natipui," a fine rope or cord made out of coconut-fibre, their plan being to catch Moenau unprepared.

On the day chosen for the deed Tara-te-kui, one of the two men, who was a very good fisherman, went out fishing; the other toa chosen, named Tara-te-kurapo, was to stay ashore and prepare the trap. Tara-te-kui was to stay out fishing until after sunset, then come quickly ashore to the spot agreed upon.

After Tara-te-kurapo was sure Tara-te-kui had caught enough fish, he went to Moenau's house and told him that Tara-te-kui was just coming in from fishing and had made a good catch. Moenau started for the beach at once and Tara-te-kurapo went with him. When they

reached the canoe, it was dark and Tara-te-kui was just beginning a meal of taro and fish. This was all part of their plot. Tara-te-kui had the rope snare all set where he intended Moenau to sit down.

Tara-te-kui invited both Moenau and Tara-te-kurapo to sit down and have some food with him before Moenau took some fish home. This pleased Moenau, who readily sat down where Tara-te-kui placed his food. As soon as he commenced to eat Tarate-kui and Tara-te-kurapo each took an end of the snare and pulled it tight. Moenau was caught by the testicles and was soon overpowered and killed with spears hidden close by. The two men dragged his body to a cave nearby and threw it in. Then they took their fish and went home.

Next morning they told the people of Ma‘uke that they had killed Moenau. This greatly pleased the Ma‘uke people, who had feared Moenau and were glad to be rid of him and his fish-stealing ways. At the time of Moenau’s death, his son Te Aukura-ariki-ki-Mauketau was about four years old. Moenau’s wife grieved over the killing of Moenau, and for a long time it was thought that she would die. Tara-te-kui and Tara-te-kurapo were very sorry for her and the child. They looked after her like a sister and took fish to her each week.

All these years Ruatapu had waited on Tonga-tapu for Rangiuri to bring him word of the safe arrival of Moenau at Rarotonga. He feared that both Rangiura and Moenau were dead and he decided to follow them to Rarotonga to see if they were there. He reached Rarotonga safely and on finding his son Tamaiva, asked where his younger brother Moenau was. Tamaiva replied, “He came here but I and my mother told Rangiuri to take him on to Ngāpūtoru so that he would be sure of having plenty of flying-fish to eat.” On hearing this Ruatapu was angered and shouted, “Well, I am sure you sent him to his death. I sent him to you to be cared for and now he is dead.”

Ruatapu sailed at once from Rarotonga, leaving his son Tamaiva behind. He soon sighted Ma‘uke and passed the reef and landed on the beach. He noticed a number of children playing near the landing place, one of whom was very like Moenau as Ruatapu remembered him. Calling the child to him he asked his name and who his father was. The boy said he was called Te Kura-ariki-ki-Mauketau, and that his father’s name was Moenau. Ruatapu asked for Moenau, and on being told that he was dead, lamented.

Later he asked the boy if his mother were still alive and where she was to be found. The boy replied that his mother, Te Kaumarokura, still lived. Ruatapu asked to be taken to her, and when they reached the

house, he met Moenau's wife and also found there Tara-te-kui and Tara-te-kurapo.

Ruatapu asked Te Kaumarokura if she was the wife of Moenau and she replied, "Yes." He also asked her where Moenau was and she told him that he was dead. Ruatapu asked her if the two men were her new husbands. Te Kaumarokura said that they were not, but that they were relatives and like fathers to her and her child.

She then asked Ruatapu what had brought him to Ma'uke and he said that he had come in search of his son Moenau. She said that he had come too late—Moenau was dead. Ruatapu asked her how many children Moenau had. Te Kaumarokura answered that he had only one son, Te Aukura-ariki-ki-Mauketau, who was standing beside him. Te Kaumarokura then asked Ruatapu how long he intended staying in Ma'uke, and he said he would decide the next day. Te Kaumarokura, Tara-te-kui, and Tara-te-kurapo prepared food for Ruatapu, and after he had eaten he soon fell asleep.

Tara-te-kui, Tara-te-kurapo, and Moenau's wife talked quietly together, and the two men said that they were afraid of Ruatapu who, they said, must be either a powerful ariki or else a god, as never before had they seen a man like him. They asked her if she did not feel sorry for them and begged that she would not tell Ruatapu that they had killed Moenau. Te Kaumarokura promised, saying that they were now more to her than brothers.

Early next morning Ruatapu arose and his first questions were "How did Moenau die? Was he killed in fighting and, if so, who killed him?" Moenau's wife answered that Moenau had not been killed in fighting but had fallen into a cave or hole in the Makatea. Ruatapu told her that he had supposed Moenau had been killed fighting; but if her answer was true, he could not avenge his death.

Ruatapu then told Te Kaumarokura that he would not remain long in Ma'uke but asked to be allowed to take Moenau's son with him. To this Te Kaumarokura would not agree, saying that she had already lost Moenau and that if she were to lose the boy, she would die. Ruatapu then asked Moenau's son if he would not like to go with him, but Te Aukura-ariki-ki-Mauketau replied that on the island where his father had died, there also would he die. Ruatapu then said to the mother and son that they were right; for if he were to take the boy away, Moenau's name would be forgotten in Ma'uke.

All the people of Ma'uke had heard that Ruatapu, the father of Moenau, had arrived looking for his son, and when they saw him, they

were very much afraid lest he should hear how Moenau had died. But no word of the truth reached Ruatapu and he left Ma‘uke three days later.

After clearing the reef Ruatapu met some fishing canoes. A man in one of the canoes hailed him and asked why he was leaving so soon. Ruatapu replied that as Moenau was dead and as he had seen his son’s wife and child, there was nothing more to stay for. The fisherman then asked Ruatapu if he knew how Moenau had died. Ruatapu replied that he had met his death by falling into a cave. The man then told Ruatapu the truth about Moenau. Ruatapu asked who had killed his son, and he was told “The two men living in the house with Te Kaumarokura, Tara-te-kui and Tara-te-kurapo.” Ruatapu replied, “It is now too late. They have lied to me. Had I known this while I was ashore, I would have killed both Tara-te-kui and Tara-te-kurapo, but I have parted from them in peace and cannot return now.”

On the following evening Ruatapu reached ‘Ātiu and went ashore. As it was nearly dark when he landed no one saw him and he had to find his own way to the place where the people of ‘Ātiu were living. He was taken into a house and fed. In the morning he rose early and asked who the ariki was and where he lived. Ruatapu was told that the ariki was Renga; Ruatapu was then taken to meet him. Renga appeared pleased to meet Ruatapu, and fed him and made him welcome, insisting upon Ruatapu staying with him.

Renga told Ruatapu that all the people of ‘Ātiu had for a long time been at work trying to make a canoe-passage through the reef at a small natural passage called Taunganui. He said that the work was hard and very slow. Renga asked Ruatapu if he would help them, and perhaps show them a better and quicker way. Ruatapu agreed to this and for the next few days was busy helping Renga and his people to improve the Taunganui passage.

Ruatapu found the work hard and there was very little food to eat, so he complained to Renga that he and all the others were hungry, and he asked Renga to see that they received more food each day. Renga replied by asking where the food would come from. He explained that they had been working so long at the passage that nearly all the food on the island had been eaten up. After hearing this, Ruatapu decided to cut short his stay on ‘Ātiu.

Two days later, having secured sufficient food from Renga to continue

his voyage, Ruatapu left ʻĀtiu. As a parting gift Renga gave him some coconuts and two kinds of small birds, one kind named kura, and the other moo; he also gave Ruatapu some roots of a sweet-smelling flower called tiare maori. Three days later Ruatapu sighted two fairly large islands, both sharing one lagoon and surrounded by a reef. He decided to land and rest before going any farther. He found that the passage through the reef was a very bad one, but he reached shore safely. Because of the large number of tavake (boatswain birds) nesting there he named these islands Manu-enua. Ruatapu found both islands to be uninhabited.

Ruatapu spent four days resting on Manu-enua and collecting food to continue his voyage. He freed the birds given to him by Renga, planted one coconut-tree which he named Tuiorongo, and also planted the tiare maori roots to which he gave the name of Aravaine ("Looking for a woman").

Again Ruatapu put to sea, steering WNW. Two days later he sighted a high hill and soon afterwards was able to see what appeared to be a large island nearly ahead of him. On approaching he could distinguish a number of small islands in the same lagoon, which he entered a little before dark through a small passage named Kopuaonu. He went ashore and spent that night on a small island named Oaka.

Early next morning Ruatapu rose and as he was on his way to his canoe he found a large unga (hermit crab). This he killed and ate and named the place where he had found it Kai-unga. Near this place he planted his last tiare maori root and this he named Ngaevaeva-i-te-inai-te-upoko-o-Tapotu-ki-Tongatapu ("The grey hairs of his wife Tapotu in Tongatapu"). This tiare maori tree can be seen to this day and is by far the largest of its kind in the Cook Islands.

Ruatapu then sailed over to the mainland, and the place where he landed he named Maitai ("The place where he rested"). Going a short way inland from there he named the place Paengamanuiri ("Where the visitor landed"). Going still further inland he commenced to build his marae which he named Aumatangi ("Sheltered from the winds").

The place where Ruatapu had landed was near the settlement of Vaitupa; it was then a very small settlement. The people there made Ruatapu welcome and took him to their homes. Ruatapu asked the name of the island and was told that it was Ututaki-enua-o-Ru (now called Aitutaki). He also asked the name of their ariki and was told that he was called Taruia.

Ruatapu settled among the people of Vaitupa and took as a wife a woman named Tutunoa. By her he had four children, the first a boy named Kirikava, the second also a boy whom they named Te Urutupui, the third a girl named Tongirau, and the fourth a boy named Touketa.

Ruatapu was now happy living among his people. When the eldest boy was old enough he asked Ruatapu to teach him all the different ways of fishing. Ruatapu told him that the best and quickest way to catch fish was by making two kinds of fishing-nets, one a long one for catching big fish, and the other a short net on two sticks; this net could easily be handled by two men. (This kind of net is a very good one for catching fish in small passages along the reef.)

Ruatapu asked Kirikava which of the two kinds he would like made. Kirikava said that he wanted the big one to catch big fish as he did not want to catch little fish. Ruatapu then collected a large quantity of the bark of the au (hibiscus) tree and soaked in the sea for four days, after which he had it all brought ashore, dressed, cleaned, and hung up to dry. Treated in this way it is called kiriau and will last at least a year before rotting.

Then Ruatapu called the people of Vaitupa together and began to teach them how to make both the long net and the short one called tuturua. These nets took a long time to make as the people were only learners; they were the first two nets ever seen on the island, and Ruatapu had to teach them all how to make them. The small net was finished first, and Ruatapu gave it to his second son Te Urutupui, making him the owner of it. Some days later Kirikava's net was completed. At last the day came when both nets were taken out for the first time. Ruatapu divided the men of the settlement into two parties, one for each net.

On the first day out both nets had very big catches. Te Urutupui's fish were all small ones, while Kirikava's net had caught big fish and also two turtles. Kirikava divided among those who had been of his party all the fish his net had caught; he did not give any to Ruatapu. Te Urutupui first picked the finest fish out of his catch and sent them along to Ruatapu; the rest of the catch he then divided among those who had been of his party.

Ruatapu was very pleased that Te Urutupui had not forgotten him and had shown his gratitude in this way. With Kirikava, on the other hand, Ruatapu was very angry. He went to Kirikava and told him what his brother had done; by acting thus, not only had he shown his gratitude to his father, but had also made sure that in the future, the net

would always be successful. Such was the Maori custom.

Some days later both nets were taken out again and both had big catches. Again the second son gave the pick of his catch to his father while Kirikava, as before, gave none. This second slight made Ruatapu angrier still. He went to Kirikava and asked him how his net had prospered. Kirikava told him they had had a very good catch, including some very fine-eating fish. Ruatapu then asked for his share, and why the Maori custom of tapuing the net had not been followed as the younger brother had done. At the same time he told Kirikava that he, Ruatapu, was ariki in his own island. Kirikava replied that he was master of his own net, and that as Ruatapu was an ariki, he, being the eldest son, must also be an ariki. Ruatapu then said that Kirikava was no longer a son of his and that he had better leave his father's house and go and be an ariki, but that he would not be an ariki for long.

Kirikava left his father's house and went to live in another house close by. He made for himself a marae which he named Aputu. Soon after this he took as wife a woman named Te Nonoioiva. They had a son whom they named Maeva-rangi. Ruatapu's three other children still lived with their father but about this time Te Urutupui took as wife a woman named Vaine-puarangi. [Te Nonoioiva and Vaine-puarangi had come to Aitutaki with Ru.]

Ever since he had quarrelled with Kirikava, Ruatapu had grown to depend more and more upon his second son, and he no longer thought of Kirikava as a son. After Te Urutupui had taken a wife Ruatapu called him and told him that now that Te Urutupui had a woman of his own, Ruatapu intended to give him his canoe called Tueu-moana (sea-foam), so named for her sailing qualities and the way in which she threw the seas aside. He told Te Urutupui, "Take your wife and go to Manu-enua. These islands are mine. I found them. I had intended to send your eldest brother there to go and reign as ariki, but now you are to go in his place. Now the islands are yours, and you and your wife must try and fill them with children."

A few days later Te Urutupui and his wife left for Manu-enua (now known as Manuae or Hervey) in the canoe Tueu-moana. It took them three days to find Manu-enua; they had a rough journey, and the landing was even worse owing to a big sea running on the reef. They landed on the smaller of the two islands. The following morning they went first of all to look for the tiare maori and the coconut tree planted there by Ruatapu when he discovered the lands. Both the flowers and the

coconut had grown well. Te Urutupui and his wife soon moved over to the larger island, and liking it better, decided to live there. This land they named Te Au-o-Tepui. There they lived and found life easy, as fish was very plentiful.

Two years later another canoe arrived bringing only one man named Rongovei. His canoe was named Tāne-maitai ("Tāne of the seas"). Te Urutupui welcomed and fed him. Soon they became very good friends. Te Urutupui proposed that Rongovei should go over to Ututaki-enua-o-Ru to get a woman for himself and to return to Manu-enua and rule there as ariki as there was room for many more people on both islands. Rongovei agreed and taking his directions from Te Urutupui set out in his canoe Tāne-maitai. He made a fast trip over, and landed at the large passage named Ruaikakau (at a settlement called Reureu-te-matao-Te Erui). There he stayed for a few days and took two women as wives, one named Tiapara and the other Punangaatua. He then visited Ruatapu and gave him news of his son and his son's wife.

Soon after this Rongovei and his two wives departed for Manu-enua. Having good winds and weather, they reached the island on the evening of the second day. Te Ututupui met them and there he installed Rongovei as ariki of Manu-enua. This done, he and his wife sailed across the lagoon to their own island.

In the meantime, owing to the trouble with his son Kirikava, Ruatapu left his marae and the settlement of Vaitupa and moved inland towards the highest point of Ututaki-enua-o-Ru. When he reached this place he sat down under a large utu tree, and the place where he rested he named Te-utu-marama ("The tree with a good view"). After resting for a short time he went a little farther.

Hearing that Ruatapu had left, Kirikava set out in pursuit of his father. On catching up with him, Kirikava begged him not to desert them, but to return with him and to forget the trouble between them, saying that it was now a thing of the past; he had seen his mistake and would cause no more trouble. Ruatapu told Kirikava to return whence he had come and he himself would go in search of a new home.

Kirikava still urged his father to return with him. Ruatapu replied angrily that if his son did not leave him, his son would be food for his spear and axe.

Kirikava replied, "All right, my father, if it pleases you to kill your son, do so. I won't try to stop you." On hearing these words, Ruatapu was overcome and began to weep. Later Ruatapu gave to this place the

name Te Rua-toke ("The hole the axe made"). Ruatapu asked Kirikava to sit down and talk things over with him. He said, "Here you and I will make two lines of stones that will remain forever to mark the spot where we settled our troubles." (To this day the two lines of black stones set end on end in the ground may be seen, certainly the work of human hands.)

Ruatapu then told Kirikava to go back to the house at Vaitupa where his brother and sister were and to live with them there, concluding, "If I become ariki of all this island I won't forget you, my son." Kirikava returned home as his father had said.

Ruatapu continued on till he reached a settlement named Anainga. Here he met a number of people all going in one direction carrying food. He asked them where they were going and what they were doing. The people told him that they were taking food to their ariki, Taruia. On hearing this Ruatapu sat down to think things over. He decided to try to make himself ariki of the island in place of Taruia.

In the meantime he would stay where he was and make a kopae (a small model of a canoe made out of coconut leaves with coconut-leaves as sails, and the ribs of coconut leaves as masts). When completed he took the kopae down to the lagoon and set its rudder so that it would sail along in a straight line close in to the shore. About a mile away from the place where Ruatapu had set it adrift it was seen by one of Taruia's men, who, never before having seen anything like it, chased and caught it. He immediately ran with it to Taruia.

As soon as Taruia took hold of it he turned to the man who had brought it and asked where he had found it. He was told that it was in the lagoon close in to the shore. Taruia then told all the people standing around him that this was an akairo (sign) that on the island there was another ariki of high rank, and that from the direction of the wind he must be somewhere about a place called Te Upoko-enua. He sent some of his people to search for this ariki and told them to bring him back when they had found him, so that he, Taruia, might find out who this ariki was and what he was doing on the island.

When they reached Te Upoko-enua, the people found a stranger sitting on the sand down by the lagoon. They went up to him and asked him who he was. Ruatapu told them that he was Ruatapu from Taputapuātea and that he had left his island long ago to go visiting other islands. They told Ruatapu that they had been sent by their ariki, Taruia, in order to find him and take him to Taruia. This pleased Ruatapu.

On meeting Taruia, Ruatapu was again asked who he was and what he was doing on the island. He replied as before, which pleased Taruia, who then fed Ruatapu and insisted upon his staying with him. Ruatapu agreed. Some days later Ruatapu asked Taruia to guess what he was thinking about (tuku piri). Taruia asked what Ruatapu had on his mind, and Ruatapu told him that he was thinking out a way to stop Vai-reirei, a small creek close by, from running into the sea. Taruia agreed that each of them in turn should have a try at damming this creek and so stop the water from running to waste. Taruia was to try first.

During the next few days Taruia tried many different ways of stopping the creek, but failed. Then came Ruatapu's turn and on the second day he succeeded in damming up the creek with carefully selected stones properly spaced. Thus Ruatapu won the first test of skill between the two ariki, and Ruatapu was sure in his own mind that it was only a matter of time till he should become ariki of the island.

A few days later he told Taruia, "I've thought up another contest of skill."

Taruia replied,"I've never met a man like you always wanting contests."

Ruatapu said, "Let's see who can build a new canoe faster. When the canoes are finished, we can go together to visit other islands."

Taruia replied, "Why go and see them? They are all the same, and no better than this."

This made Ruatapu laugh, and he told Taruia that there were many bigger and better islands than Aitutaki. He knew, having seen many of them. At this Taruia appeared interested, and when Ruatapu told him that on many of the other islands, the women were very light-skinned, in fact some nearly white, with light-colored hair, and that on Taruia's island the women were dark and ugly, Taruia was eager to go and would not rest until the canoes were begun. This was also to be a test of skill for the two ariki to see whose canoe should be finished first. In this also Ruatapu proved the better man and when his canoe was finished, he named it Te Atua-apaipai ("The gods will take his canoe where he wants to go").

Then Ruatapu took his canoe down to the lagoon-side and told Taruia that he was leaving in the morning for Rarotonga. Taruia asked him not to be in a hurry as his canoe was nearly finished and they could then go together. At first Ruatapu would not agree, saying that he would go first and that on arriving in Rarotonga would call out to Taruia to come to him. Afterwards he agreed to wait until the next day to give

Taruia time to finish his canoe.

The following day Ruatapu put to sea about two hours ahead of Taruia and when about ten miles away from land, he purposely capsized his canoe, knowing that Taruia would shortly come along , see him, and approach to find out what was the matter. Close to where Ruatapu upset his canoe was a small island called Maina-ina-ra, and the place where he upset his canoe was called Raukuru-vaka.

He was not long in the sea before he saw Taruia's canoe sailing along. Seeing Ruatapu's canoe overturned, Taruia came close by, Ruatapu called out to him, "My friend, come and help me right my canoe."

Taruia laughed and said, "My friend I told you to wait so that we might go together, but you replied that you would be waiting for me in Rarotonga. Now I am going on alone and when I reach Rarotonga, I'll call for you." Again Ruatapu asked Taruia to come and help, and again Taruia laughed at him and sailed away.

As soon as Taruia was out of sight, Ruatapu quickly righted his canoe, bailed out the water, and returned to Aitutaki, laughing to himself over how easily he had got rid of Taruia. As soon as Ruatapu got ashore, he went to Taruia's house.

In the morning he called a meeting of all Taruia's people and told the mataipo (district chiefs) that soon after leaving land, he had had bad luck and his canoe capsized. He did not know how Taruia had fared or whether Taruia was alive or dead. After talking among themselves for a few days, some of Taruia's enemies suggested that as they did not know if Taruia was still alive, it would be a good thing to make Ruatapu their ariki before he too went away and left them. This was soon agreed to and three days later Ruatapu was elected ariki of Ututaki-enua-o-Ru, and Taruia's people soon forgot Taruia.

In the meantime Taruia arrived in Rarotonga where he was made much of. He waited there for some time for Ruatapu to arrive, and when Ruatapu failed to appear, he began to realize that he had been tricked and that he was no longer an ariki. He was afraid to return to Ututaki-enua-o-Ru by himself, so he went among his new friends and invited a number of the strong young men to build canoes and go back with him to see his island and be his guests there. He did not tell them that he was afraid of what he would find on his return.

He was successful in gathering a party which included a number of good fighting men. When all was ready, they started out for Ututaki-enua-o-Ru. When they arrived off the reef, they were seen by the people

from the shore, who went and told Ruatapu that there were some canoes approaching the island.

Ruatapu went down to the beach, and as soon as he saw the canoes approaching, knew it was Taruia returning home. He went back and called his people quickly together telling them it was Taruia returning with a war-party to fight them. He proposed that they should go out and meet them and give them battle, and to this they agreed.

Quickly getting their canoes together they were soon outside the lagoon and, headed by Ruatapu, met the approaching canoes off the main passage called Ruaikakau. Taruia's party was soon beaten off. They had not expected to fight, much less to fight at sea. Taruia seeing his party getting the worst of the fight, and hoping yet to win his people back again, came in close to them and standing up in his canoe, shouted out, "This is I, Taruia, your ariki who went to Rarotonga."

Ruatapu, who was fighting his way close to Taruia's canoe, stood up and answered, "Taruia, ariki who went to Rarotonga, I have taken your rule from you."

On hearing this the few of Taruia's party who were left gave up fighting and headed their canoes north, eventually reaching an island called Mangarongaro (now called Penrhyn). Although they had good weather all the way it took nearly three weeks, and when they arrived off the reef at Mangarongaro they were very weak for want of food. They went ashore at a small harbor which Taruia named, after himself, Taruia. (To this day the descendants of Taruia are still to be found at Mangarongaro.)

As soon as Taruia's party had been beaten off, Ruatapu returned ashore and went to the Paepae-o-ronga, the house of the ariki. The following day, remembering his promise to Kirikava, his eldest son. Ruatapu felt that now that he was firmly established upon the island, it was time to fulfil his promise to Kirikava; so he sent a party to bring his son to Paepae-o-ronga. On Kirikava's arrival Ruatapu told him, "As I am now ariki of the island and becoming a very old man, I want you to stay and live with me."

Soon after this a canoe arrived from Taputapuātea bringing news of a young and famous fighting-man, one well skilled in the art of fighting and wrestling. This man's name was Tuotakura and he lived on the island of Tahiti. So far he had met and defeated in single combat all the young toa (warriors) from the other islands. On hearing this, Kirikava was anxious to go and meet Tuotakura. He begged Ruatapu's

permission to allow him to make a voyage to Tahiti. At first Ruatapu would not agree to this saying that while Kirikava was a very tall and powerful man, he was not skilled enough to meet a famous toa like Tuotakura. He said, "My son, had you listened to me and let me finish your training, you could have challenged any toa."

Ruatapu himself would have liked to meet this newcomer, but his fighting days were over. Kirikava, however, persisted, and at last Ruatapu gave his permission. Ruatapu and his people then set to work on a large canoe to take Kirikava and his party to Tahiti. As soon as the canoe was finished the party lost no time in setting out for Tahiti, and on arriving there Kirikava arranged a test of strength and skill with Tuotakura.

On the day that Kirikava and his party arrived at Tahiti, Tuotakura had arranged to meet three other young toa from neighboring islands. Kirikava watched all these contests and could easily see that Tuotakura was far too good for the others.

Two days later Kirikava's turn came and before meeting Tuotakura, Kirikava told his people that he was afraid Tuotakura would prove too good for him. Kirikava was offered his choice of fighting with spears or wrestling. From what Kirikava had seen of the previous contests he decided that his best chance lay in wrestling. Tuotakura readily agreed and in a very short time he had Kirikava on the ground.

Then Tuotakura offered Kirikava another chance, which Kirikava refused as he was quite satisfied that Tuotakura was by far the younger and stronger man, and also the more skilful. The next day Kirikava and his party left Tahiti. On arriving home they went ashore very much ashamed. Ruatapu asked Kirikava how he came to be beaten. Kirikava said that Tuotakura was a younger, taller, and stronger man than himself, and also a more skillful and better man in every way.

On hearing this Ruatapu broke down and said, "If only Tuotakura had been born forty or fifty years earlier, I would have gone and met him. In my time I never met the man I could not beat and beat easily, but I am now too old and must suffer this defeat."

The defeat of Kirikava appeared to affect Ruatapu deeply as from this time it was plainly seen that Ruatapu was slowly dying of old age. When he realized that he was dying, he called Kirikava and all his people before him and told them that he had but a short time to live, and that when he was dead, Kirikava was to be made ariki in his stead.

Soon after this he died, and for many days his people grieved for him. After a short period Kirikava was made ariki.

Kirikava still smarted from his defeat by Tuotakura and dreamed of revenge. That he should have his revenge appeared likely. His sister Tongirau, who had married a man named Te Araroa, had a son named Te Aunui-o-ota. This boy had grown very quickly and at a very early age was much taller and stronger than any of the other boys and had beaten them all in trials of skill and fighting.

When Te Aunui-o-ota had been a very small boy Ruatapu had spent all his spare time in teaching him the art of using the spear and wrestling. The older men all picked him as the coming toa of the island. Kirikava insisted on having him taught and trained with the idea of sending him to Tahiti to meet Tuotakura. Te Aunui-o-ota when still a very young man stood well over six feet and was very broad and exceedingly strong. He could easily defeat at one time any three strong men on the island.

One day when he was a little over twenty years old, his mother called him and said, “My son, we are still living in shame and disgrace.”

When Te Aunui-o-ota asked her why, he was told that his uncle Kirikava had once gone to Tahiti to meet a famous young toa named Tuotakura and had been badly beaten. On returning home he had been laughed at by his people and had since been living in shame.

The next day Te Aunui-o-ota went to visit his uncle and asked if it were true that he had been beaten in Tahiti by Tuotakura.

His uncle replied, “My son, it is true, but who told you?”

Te Aunui-o-ota replied, “My mother.”

Te Aunui-o-ota then asked permission of his uncle to go to Tahiti to meet Tuotakura. Kirikava agreed and no time was lost in getting a canoe and crew ready for Te Aunui-o-ota. When all was prepared, they set sail.

On arriving at Tahiti, Te Aunui-o-ota rested for six days and then challenged Tuotakura to a trial of strength and skill. Of the two men Te Aunui-o-ota was by far the younger and bigger, but Tuotakura was still in the prime of life and was also a very skillful and cunning fighter.

On the day of the contest Te Aunui-o-ota proved the stronger and better man and soon had Tuotakura crying for mercy. Twice they met and twice Tuotakura had to admit defeat. When Te Aunui-o-ota had defeated the champion, he made up and sang this akateni: “Kirikava ke te au poatu ia natangi, Kirikava ki te taki puputu ki Tahiti te tua takura ka ei taku rima.” Soon after this Te Aunui-o-ota left Tahiti for his own island and on his return was feasted and made much of. (To this day this

akateni is still sung.)

Soon after Kirikava was made ariki, his son, Maeva-rangi, married a woman named Te Kura-i-oneroa. A child was born to them, whom they named Maeva-kura. This boy, when grown to manhood, married Puriterei. They had a daughter whom they named Maine-maraerua.

On the death of Kirikava his grandson Maeva-kura was made ariki. When Maine-maraerua was still a young girl, she went to Rarotonga with a visiting-party. There she married a man named Tamaiva; this man was very handsome and news of his good looks had already reached Ututaki-enua; it was on this account that Maine-maraerua had gone to Rarotonga. At first Tamaiva did not want Maine-maraerua so she married a man named Te Iimatetapua. They had a child, a boy named Marouna.

During Maeva-kura's rule there came to Ututaki-enua many canoes bringing people whom the people of Ututaki-enua named Aitu. These people came in large numbers and soon caused trouble. Maeva-kura grew afraid of them and for safety's sake left his home and went to live at a place called Te Rangi-Atea.

Maeva now feared for his life and decided to send a canoe secretly to Rarotonga to find out if his daughter had married and whether she had sons grown up and powerful enough to come to his assistance; and if she had, she should send a party back to Ututaki-enua-o-Ru in the canoe that carried Maeva-kura's message to Rarotonga. The name of the head man of the party was Tuoarangi.

On Tuoarangi's arrival in Rarotonga, he found that Maine-maraerua had a grown son called Marouna, who was then about eighteen years of age. Tuoarangi told Maine-maraerua that Ututaki-enua-o-Ru was overrun with Aitu; that fearing for his life, Maeva-kura had gone to live at Te Rangi-Atea; and that if she had a child old enough, she should send him over before it was too late.

Maine-maraerua quickly agreed to send Marouna and a party to Maeva-kura's assistance. Marouna asked his mother to give him time to make a canoe for the voyage, but his mother replied that if he took the time to make a canoe, he would find, on his arrival at Ututaki-enua, only his grandfather's bones rotting at Te Rangi-Atea. The mother told Marouna to go down to the settlement and there to pull one feather out of the hat he was wearing as the sign that he was a grandson of an ariki and to demand a canoe belonging to a man named Angainui.

Marouna did as he was instructed and went to Angainui, gave him the feather from his hat, and demanded the man's canoe. Angainui agreed to let him have the canoe, stipulating only that Marouna should take the canoe to his own home that same day, and that he should not alter the name of the canoe, Te Mata-o-tekoviri.

The next day was spent by Marouna and his relatives in collecting food and water for the coming voyage. This done, Marouna chose six good canoe men to go with him and help sail the canoe. The following day Marouna and his party put to sea, his mother telling him to go straight to Ututaki-enua. But when clear of land, Marouna decided to go first to ʻĀtiu in order to get a number of good fighting men to go with him to help rid Ututaki-enua of the enemy.

The canoe soon reached ʻĀtiu and there Marouna went ashore and was taken to visit the famous toa of ʻĀtiu, Uta. Uta told Marouna to go to another part of the island called Maoake to call on a young and very powerful toa named Taraapaitoa, as he himself was growing old and was no longer strong enough to lead a war-party. Uta told Marouna where Taraapaitoa's house was to be found, and also said that the house was close to a large li tree; on reaching this tree Marouna was to take particular notice of its leaves; if the leaves on the tree were rustling in the wind Marouna was on no account to go any closer, but if the leaves were still then Marouna was to go inside the house. There he would find Taraapaitoa asleep. Marouna must then quickly and quietly gather up all Taraapaitoa's spears and axes, tie them in a bundle, and take them some distance away and bury them.

Marouna went to Maoake, and finding the leaves of the tree still went into the house and there, as described, found Taraapaitoa asleep. Quickly he gathered the axes and spears and hid them. Then he wakened Taraapaitoa who immediately felt for his weapons, and, finding them gone, decided to talk to Marouna. He asked Marouna to be seated and Marouna explained that he had not come looking for trouble but for help. Taraapaitoa listened to all that Marouna had to say and then agreed to go with him. Marouna asked Taraapaitoa to get a few more strong toa to go with them, but Taraapaitoa laughed and said that there was no man on ʻĀtiu equal to him in battle and he did not want to fight with weaker men.

The next day Marouna and Taraapaitoa left ʻĀtiu. From ʻĀtiu they went to Mitiʻāro to see another toa named Taratekui whom Taraapaitoa said was Mitiʻāro's best fighting man. On arriving at Mitiʻāro, Marouna approached Taratekui, told him of his trouble, and asked his help.

Taratekui agreed to go and they spent that night in feasting and dancing.

Next morning Marouna and his party left for Ma‘uke. There Taraapaitoa told Marouna to ask for a man named Taratekurapa who was Ma‘uke’s best fighting man. Here again Marouna was successful and Taratekurapa joined the party.

The next morning they set out for Mangaia but this time the canoe struck bad weather and it took them three days to reach Mangaia. On going ashore Marouna lost no time in making known what he had come for. He asked the Mangaia people the name of their best fighting man, and was told his name was Ue. Marouna found Ue and again told his troubles and asked him to go with them to Ututaki-enua-o-Ru. Ue agreed to go if the Mangaia people would allow him to go. Permission being granted, Ue told Marouna that living on the island was another strong toa named Kavau from the island of Niue.

Ue asked Marouna to get permission from the Mangaia people to take Kavau with them. At first the people would not agree, saying that Kavau must remain to look after the island until Ue returned, but later in the night they all agreed that Kavau should go with Marouna. The following day Marouna and his party again put to sea, but before they left their canoe was decorated by the women with rau ti para, and also renamed Rau-ti-para-ki-auau.

The canoe was then headed for Ututaki-enua-o-Ru. In the late afternoon of the third day when they were close to the island, they overtook another smaller canoe, also making for the island. There were two men in it whom Marouna questioned as to their destination and their names. They told Marouna they were looking for their father whom they thought might be on Ututaki-enua-o-Ru; they were brothers, the elder named Koroki-matangi, and the younger Koroki-vananga; their father’s name was Tavake.

Marouna asked them to join his party and help clear the island of the Aitu. They agreed, telling Marouna and his party to go on ashore and they would wait outside near the passage and deal with anyone who attempted to escape by canoe. Marouna and his party landed about midnight. Everyone on shore was asleep, so no one saw them land. They anchored their canoe out in deep water at a place called Vaiora.

Marouna said that as they had all had a long hard day and were tired, they had better sleep in the canoe till daylight, then go ashore and start killing the Aitu. Taraapaitoa thought that they should all go ashore at once and take the Aitu by surprise. But Marouna would not agree, arguing back that they had better get some sleep in order to be fresh in

the morning.

Taraapaitoa left the others sleeping in the canoe and went ashore. Finding the village where the people were sleeping, he went quietly into the houses and felt about until he found the heads of the sleeping people. The heads he quietly lifted up. When he felt a small fine head, he left it, but when he found a big heavy head he lingered knowing it must belong to a strong man. He was tempted to kill the men but was afraid of killing friends, mistaking them for enemies, so he went back to the canoe where the others were still asleep and snoring.

He wakened them and told them to come ashore and also told them what he had been doing. At this Marouna and the others were ashamed and all agreed to accompany him ashore. They took their canoe into a small creek named Tangaro and there sunk the canoe, so that it was safely out of sight. They named this place Vai-veu.

Tuoarangi then led them to where he had left Maeva-kura living. They waited outside his house and called out to him. After calling softly several times they wakened Maeva-kura who sang out that night was not the time for fighting, to go home and wait for daylight and then fight.

Marouna then called out, “It is I, your grandson Marouna.”

Maeva-kura replied, “Marouna is on Rarotonga, and who could bring him here?”

Marouna replied, “Did you not send Tuoarangi to fetch me?”

Maeva-kura answered, “Yes, I did.”

Then Marouna said, “This is I, your grandson.”

Then Maeva-kura opened the door and Marouna and his people entered; on meeting his grandson Maeva-kura wept.

Maeva-kura then called the women of the house to bring food for Marouna and his people; this food was mai, which is made out of fermented breadfruit, and also some coconuts. After they had eaten, Marouna asked why Maeva-kura had sent to Rarotonga for him. Maeva-kura replied that the island was full of Aitu (people from other islands) who had been steadily arriving in canoes. He was no longer ariki of the island, and had had to leave his own house and come to live where they now found him. He knew it would be only a short time before the Aitu killed him and that was why they had found the house barricaded up. He was in fear of his life each night.

Marouna then told Maeva-kura not to worry anymore, as he would take charge of the island and soon clear it of Aitu. The young man explained also that all the men of his party were famous toa from other

islands; these had all come to help kill the Aitu.

A short council of war was then held and it was decided to wait another hour until daylight before commencing to fight the Aitu. Again Taraapaitoa disagreed, thinking it better to catch the Aitu still asleep and make sure that none escaped. Marouna said that in the dark it would be very easy to kill friends and suggested a short sleep so that they might be strong for the killing. Taraapaitoa had to agree, but he himself scorned sleep, saying that the thought of killing was sleep enough for him, and that it was only women who required sleep before work was to be done. Marouna and the others snatched a short sleep while Taraapaitoa kept watch.

At daybreak he wakened them, none too gently, as he was angry at having already lost valuable time. Led by Tuoarangi and Mama, they began in the houses nearest, and as fast as Tuoarangi pointed out the Aitu, they were given a chance to fight but none of them proved a match for Marouna's party of toa. Taraapaitoa soon proved his worth and was by far the strongest and best fighter. He was very fierce and appeared tireless; no man was found who could give him battle. In many cases he tackled lone-handed a house in which there were three and four Aitu. Taking them altogether he would very soon kill them, all the time shouting out akateni; Taraapaitoa seemed to glory in killing.

For four days the fighting went on and on the fifth day, search as they would, they could not find another Aitu man on the mainland. Led by Taraapaitoa, the party now took canoes and went to search the small islands in the lagoon. Two men were supposed to have escaped during the fighting to a small island named Motu-rakau.

When they reached this island they could see plainly the footprints of one man who must have landed on the beach; this man, Tangaroa-iku-reo, was soon found and killed. They then returned to the mainland and told Marouna that all the Aitu were now killed. The next two days were spent in dancing, feasting, and rejoicing in the defeat of the Aitu.

Marouna composed the following akateni: "Marouna i te titi, Marouna ie te tata, Marouna ie te tapuni enua, e varu taua a Marouna." This was a song of victory singing his own praises because he had cleared the island of its enemies. Shortly after this Marouna gave to each of the toa who had come to his assistance a large piece of land; to Ue he gave a large piece of land at Vaipae; to Taraapaitoa, the champion of all toa, he gave another and larger piece, also at Vaipae, called Ngaitikaura; Kavau was given a piece of land called Nukunoni; Taratekui and Taratekurapo were each given a piece of land at a place

called Vaiorea. It was Marouna's idea to try and persuade these toa to remain on the island and thus breed a race of toa, men strong in battle.

The island now settled down to a period of peace. On the death of Maeva-kura, Marouna was made ariki; he proved himself a wise ruler and kept the island free from wars and tribal fighting. At his death his son, Te Tapu-o-ronga, was made ariki.

Te Tapu-o-ronga had three wives. His first wife was named Te Urei; their first child was a boy whom they named Te Rangi-o-Tangaroa. By his second wife, Katapu-kite-marae, the first child was also a boy, whom they named Nga Ariki-tokoa. The first child of Marouna's third wife, Pureupoko, was also a boy named Te Ariki-vao. On the death of Te Tapu-o-ronga, these three sons all became ariki. Te Rangi-o-Tangaroa was elected as Vairuarangi; Nga Ariki-tokoa was elected Tamatoa; Te Ariki-vao was elected Te Urukura. (To the present day the descendants of these people have been rulers of Ututaki-enua-o-Ru and still carry or use the same names. The name of the island is now Aitutaki having been changed by the early missionaries from Ra'iātea, to whom the name Ututaki sounded like Aitutaki.)

Notes

The story of Ruatapu was recorded and translated by Drury Low from the words of Timi Koro, tumu korero of Aitutaki. The translation appeared in *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, Vol. 43, 1934, pp. 171-186 and 258-266. The name of Ruatapu's canoe was Te Kare-roa-i-tai. Other versions of the Ruatapu story can be found in S. Percy Smith's *History of the Taranaki Coast* (pp. 80-84); John Pakoti's "First Inahabitants of Aitutaki" in *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, Vol. 4, 1895, pp .67-70;.and J.T. Large (translator) "Ruatapu—A Celebrated Maori Ancestor and his Cook Island Descendants," in *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, Vol. 15, 1906, pp. 209-219.

Hawai‘i Loa

Samuel M. Kamakau and Z. Kepelino

The Discovery and Settlement of Hawai‘i

Hawai‘i Loa, or Ke Kowa i Hawai‘i, was one of the four children of Aniani Ka Lani.[1] The other three were Ki, who settled in Tahiti, Kana Loa, who settled the Marquesas, and Laa-Kapu. The ocean was called Kai Holo-o-ka-I‘a (Ocean where the fish run). Only two islands existed and both were discovered and settled by Hawai‘i Loa. The first he named Hawai‘i after himself; the second Maui, after his eldest son. (The other islands were created by volcanoes during and after the time of Hawai‘i Loa.)

Hawai‘i Loa and his brothers were born on the east coast of a land called Ka ‘Āina kai melemele a Kāne (the land of the yellow or handsome sea of Kāne).[2] Hawai‘i Loa was a distinguished man and noted for his fishing excursions which would occupy months, sometimes the whole year, during which time he would roam about the ocean in his big canoe (wa‘a), called also an “island” (moku), with his crew and his officers and navigators (poe ho‘okele and kilo-hōkū).

One time when they had been at sea for a long time, Makali‘i, the principal navigator said to Hawai‘i Loa, “Let’s steer the canoe in the direction of Iao, the Eastern Star, the discoverer of land [Hōkū hikina kiu o nā ‘āina]. There is land to the eastward, and here is a red star, hōkū ‘ula (Aldebaran), to guide us, and the land is there in the direction of those big stars which resemble a bird.” And the red star, situated in the lap of the goats [a constellation], was called Makali‘i after the navigator. Some other red stars in the circle of the Pleiades were called the Huhui-a-Makali‘i ("Cluster of Makali‘i").

So they steered straight onward and arrived at the easternmost island of the Hawai‘ian chain.[3] They went ashore and found the land fertile and pleasant, filled with ‘awa, coconut trees, and so on, and Hawai‘i Loa, the chief, gave that land his name. Here they dwelt a long time and when their canoe was filled with vegetable food and fish, they returned to their native country with the intention of returning to Hawai‘i-nei, which they preferred to their own country. They had left their wives and

children at home; therefore, they returned to get them. When Hawai‘i Loa and his men arrived at their own country and among their relatives, they were detained a long time before they set out again for Hawai‘i.

At last Hawai‘i Loa sailed again, accompanied by his wife and his children. He settled in Hawai‘i and gave up all thought of ever returning to his native land. He was accompanied on this voyage by a great crowd of men—steersmen, navigators, shipbuilders, and others.[4] Hawai‘i Loa was chief of all these men. He alone brought his wife and children; all the others came singly, without women, so he was the progenitor of this nation. On their voyage here, the Morning Star (ka Hōkū Loa) was the special star they steered by. And Hawai‘i Loa called the islands after the names of his children and the stars after his navigators and steersmen. [The island of Maui was called after Hawai‘i Loa’s first born son. The island of O‘ahu was called after Hawai‘i Loa’s daughter, and her foster parent was Lua, and hence the name O‘ahu-a-Lua. Kaua‘i was called after Hawai‘i Loa’s younger son; his wife’s name was Waialeale, and they lived on Kaua‘i, and the mountain was called after her because there she was buried. And thus other islands and districts were called after the first settlers.][5]

After Hawai‘i Loa had been some time in Hawai‘i-nei, he made another voyage to find his brothers to see if they had any children who might become husbands or wives to his own. They left from Lae o Kalae, in Ka‘ū, and followed the stars Ke Ali‘i-o-Kona-i-ka-Lewa [Canopus] and the stars of Hōkū-kea o ka Mole Honua ["Star-cross of the bottom of the earth," or Southern Cross] to Tahiti and other islands to the south. On Tahiti, he found his brother Ki who had settled there and called the island after one of his own names. They sailed together southward (i ka mole o ka honua), and found an uninhabited island, which Hawai‘i Loa gave his name, and another smaller island, which he named for his daughter O‘ahu.

When they had finished their business here, they returned to Hawai‘i, to Lae o Kalae, steering by the Hōkū-‘Iwa stars and the Hōkū Poho ka ‘Āina. On this return voyage, Hawai‘i Loa brought Tū-nui-ai-a-te-Atua, the first born son of his brother Ki, who became the husband of Hawai‘i Loa’s favorite daughter O‘ahu. The couple had a child called Kūnuiākea, who was born at Keauhou in Puna, Hawai‘i. Puna was a fertile and fine land and it was called Puna by Kūnuiaiakeakua [Tū-nui-ai-a-te-Atua] after his own birthplace, Puna-Auia, in Tahiti.

Kūnuiākea, on both father’s and mother’s side, became a chief of the very highest rank (kapu loa). From him sprang the race of chiefs

here in Hawai‘i (welo ali‘i) and from Makali‘i sprang the race of common people (welo kanaka). The first has been kept separate from the most ancient times, and the second has been kept separate from the time of chaos (mai ka Pō mai). But the priestly race (welo kahuna) was one and the same with the race of chiefs from the beginning.[6]

Hawai‘i Loa’s Descendants

Kūnuiākea’s son Ke Lii Alia, and his grandson Kemilia, were born at Tahiti along with the Aoa, the royal tree; but his great grandson, Ke Lii Ku (Eleeleualani), was born on Hawai‘i.

Eleeleualani was the grandfather of Papa-Nui-Hanau-Moku (w). His wife was called Ka Oupe Ali‘i and was a daughter of Kupukupunuu from Ololoimehani (supposed to be either a name for the island of Nu‘uhiwa, or of a place on that island). They had a son called Kūkalani‘ehu, whose wife was Ka Haka-ua-Koko, the sixth descendant from Makali‘i, and they two were the parents of Papa-Nui (w).

Papa-Nui-Hanau-Moku (w) first married Wākea, who was the son of Kahiko (k) and Tupu-rana-i-te-hau (w), who was a Tahitian woman. Papa’s first child with Wākea was a daughter called Hoohokukalani.

Papa, having quarreled with Wākea on account of their daughter [i.e., Wākea slept with their daughter], went to Tahiti and there she took to Te Rii Fanau for husband and had a son called Te Rii i te Haupoipoi. She afterwards returned to Hawai‘i under the name of Huhune and had a son with Waia and called him Hinanalo. Domestic troubles now made her crazy and she returned to Tahiti where she had another son with Te Ari‘i Aumai, who was said to be the fourth generation of the Tahiti chiefs, and she called his name Te Ari‘i Taria, and he became chief over that part of Tahiti called Taharu‘u.

Becasue she was the mother of chiefs, both here and in Tahiti, she is called Papa Nui Hanau Moku ["Great Papa, the Mother of Islands"]. She is said to have been a comely, handsome woman, very fair and almost white.[7]

Papa is said to have traveled eight times between Tahiti and Hawai‘i, and died in a place called Waieri, in Tahiti, during the time of Nanakelihi the fifth descendant from her and Wākea.

Wākea was a wicked and bad man. He instituted the bad and oppressive kapu, such as that men and women could not eat together; that women could not eat red fish, hogs, fowl or other birds, and some kinds of bananas. These kapu were put on to .spite and worry Papa, on

account of her growling at and reproaching him for his wickedness. Wākea also departed from the ancient worship and introduced idol worship, and many people followed him, because they were afraid of him.

Other Travels of Hawai‘i Loa

Hawai‘i Loa was born on the eastern shore of the land of Kapakapaua-a-Kane. One of Hawai‘i Loa’s grandchildren was called Keaka-i-Lalo (w) whom he married to Te Ari‘i Aria, one of his brother Ki’s grandchildren, and he placed them at Sawai‘i [Samoa?], where they became the ancestors of that people, Sawai‘i being then called Hawai‘i-kū-lalo [Hawai‘i rising downwind].

Afterwards Hawai‘i Loa revisited Tahiti and found that his brother Ki had forsaken the religion in which they were brought up, that of Kāne, Kū and Lono, and adopted Kū-waha-ilo [maggot-mouthed Kū], the man-eating God (ke akua ‘ai kanaka), as his God. After quarreling with his brother on this account, Hawai‘i Loa left Tahiti and brought with him Te Ari‘i Apa as a husband for Eleeleualani, his mo‘opuna (grandchild) From these two was born Kohala (w), a girl, from whom the Kohala people sprang.

Afterwards Hawai‘i Loa went again to Tahiti and Hawai‘i-ku-lalo (Sawai‘i) and held a meeting with those peoples at Tarawao, but finding that they persisted in following after the God Kū-waha-ilo and that they had become addicted to man-eating, he reproved and repudiated them, and passed a law called “he Papa Enaena,” forbidding anyone from Hawai‘i-Luna (upwind Hawai‘i) from ever going to the southern islands, lest they should go astray in their religion and become man-eaters.

When Hawai‘i Loa returned from this trip he brought with him Te Ari‘i Tino Rua (w) to be a wife to Kūnuiākea, and they begat Ke Ali‘i Maewa Lani, a son, who was born at Holio in North Kona, Hawai‘i, and became the Kona progenitor.

After this Hawai‘i Loa made a voyage to the westward, and Mūlehu (Hōkū Loa) was his guiding star. He landed on the eastern shore of the land of the Lahui-makalilio (the people with the turned up, oblique eyes, i.e., Asians). He traveled over it to the northward and to the westward to the land of Kuahewahewa-a-Kāne, one of the continents that God created, and thence he returned, by the way he had come, to Hawai‘i nei, bringing with him some white men (po‘e keokeo kāne) and

married them to native women (a hoʻomoe i koʻonei poʻe wahine). On this return voyage the star Iao was his guiding star to Hawaiʻi.

After this Hawaiʻi Loa made another voyage to the southern and eastern shore of Kapakapaua-a-Kāne and took with him his grandchild Kūnuiākea in order to teach him navigation, etc. When they had stayed there long enough they returned and Kūnuiākea brought with him "he mau haʻa elua" (two stewards), one called Lehua and the other Nihoa, and they were settled on the two islands which bear their names, as konohiki (land stewards) and put under the charge of Kauaʻi, the youngest son of Hawaiʻi Loa.

When Hawaiʻi Loa returned from the conference with his brother Ki and his descendants, his wife Hualālai bore him a son who was called Hāmākua, and who probably was a bad boy (keiki ʻinoʻino), for so his name would indicate. Ten years later, Hualālai died and was buried on the mountain of Hawaiʻi that has been called after her name ever since.

After Hawaiʻi Loa was dead and gone, in the time of Kūnuiākea, came Tahitinui from Tahiti and landed at Ka-lae-i-Kahiki (the southwest point of Kahoʻolawe, a cape often made by people coming from or going to Tahiti.) Tahiti-nui was a moʻopuna of Ki, Hawaiʻi Loa's brother, and he settled on East Maui and died there.

The descendants of Hawaiʻi Loa and also of Ki (which are one, for they were brothers) peopled nearly all the Polynesian islands. From Ki came the people of Tahiti, Borabora, Huahine, Tahaʻa, Raʻiātea and Moʻorea.

From Kanaloa [brother of Hawaiʻi Loa] were peopled Nukuhiwa, Uapou, Tahuata, Hiwaoa and those other islands [in the Marquesas Group]. Kanaloa married a woman from the man-eating people, Taeohae [Taiohae, on Nukuhiwa], from whom spring those cannibals who live on Nuʻuhiwa, Fiji, Tarapara, Paumotu [the Tuamotus], and the islands in western Polynesia—so is it reported in the Hawaiian legends and prayers—but the people of Hawai'i and the Tahiti (properly speaking) did never addict themselves to cannibalism.

Notes

This version of the Hawaiʻi Loa story is from Fornander, Vol. VI, 278-281. Another version entitled "Hawaii-nui," in Hawaiʻian and English, appears in *Kepelino's Traditions of Hawaii* (Honolulu: Bishop Museum, 1932, 74-77). The authenticity of the Hawaiʻi Loa tradition has been

questioned:

The legend seems to be a summary of statements contained in many other Hawaiian legends and genealogies. At the time it was recorded in writing, many Hawaiian had become Christianized and were familiar with Biblical history. The temptation to interpret certain incidents similar to those in Biblical history as being in fact the Hawaiian rendering of Biblical events seems to have influenced the translators. This unfortunate condition has more or less discredited the ancient legends on which the legend of Hawaii-loa is based, branding them , in the opinion of many modern students as "doctored accounts, influenced by Christianity" (Cartwright 105)

Both Kamakau and Kepelino, the authors of the tradition of Hawaiʻi Loa, were Chrisitian converts The tradition includes the notion that Hawaiians worshipped one God formed by a trinity of gods (Kāne, Kū, and Lono). It also contains an account of the creation of the first man (Kumuhonua) out of clay and the first woman (Lalo Honua) out of the rib of the first man. Kanaloa, angry that he was denied ʻawa, rebelled against God and later seduced the first woman, after which the first man and woman broke the law of Kāne and fell from grace. The Hawaiian Noah in this tradition is called Nuʻu; he survived a flood in a large vesssel with a house on it; after the flood subsided, he landed on top of Mauna Kea, etc.

Cartwright points out, however, that "many of the persons mentioned [in the genealogy] are and have been accepted by Hawaiians of chieftain rank as their ancestors." He concludes that the tradition is authentic, though the Hawaiʻi in the story is actually Raʻiātea (formerly called Hawaiki) rather than the Big Island of Hawaiʻi. He offers no evidence for this conclusion.

Randie Fong notes "the Hawaiʻii Loa portion [of the tradition of Hawaiʻi Loa] bears no resemblance to any Biblical account. The names, places, settings, and plots give us no reason to question their age and authenticity. Further, Patience Bacon of the Bishop Museum remembers kupuna being interviewed by Tutu Pukuʻi. The kupuna spoke of Hawaiʻi Loa as their 'reality,' and this was somewhere in the 1920's and 30's. Mrs. Bacon feels that the tradition is sound" (Unpublished commentary on Hawaiʻi Loa; the name was used for a Hawaiian voyaging canoe that would reenact an early settlement voyage to Hawaiʻi from the Marquesas Islands in 1995.)

1. The story begins with the genealogy of Hawaiʻi Loa for many

generations from the first man, Kumu Honua, and his wife Lalo Honua, who lived in a land called Kalana i Hauola, down to Aniani Ka Lani, Hawai‘i Loa’s father and Ka Mee Nui Hikina, his mother.

2. Kepelino version: Hawai‘i-nui sailed from a land called Kahiki-Honua-Kele.

3. Kepelino version states that the canoe made landfall at the western end of the archipelago: “First he saw the island of Kaua‘i, but he kept on sailing and found O‘ahu and then the islands of the Maui group, then, seeing the mountains of Hawai‘i, he kept on until he reached that island. There he lived and named the island after himself. The other islands from Maui to Kaua‘i were named for his children and for some who sailed with him. Here are the names of this children: Maui was the eldest, O‘ahu younger, and Kaua‘i the youngest. These names he gave to the three large islands, but the smaller islands were perhaps named for those who accompanied him.

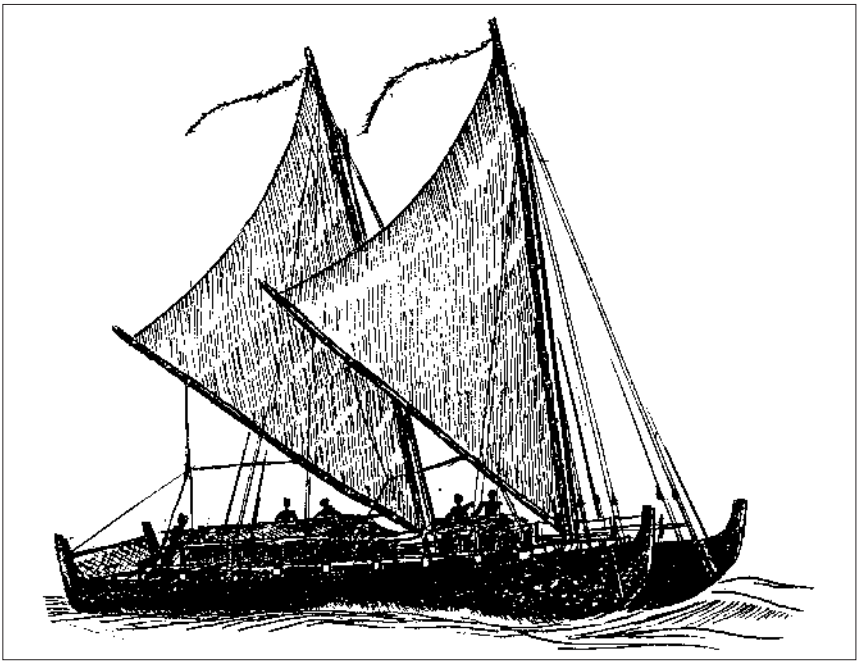
4. Another passage in Fornander says “When Hawai‘i Loa arrived here, there were only the two islands of Hawai‘i-Loa and Maui-au-Ali‘i; but during his time and close afterwards the volcanoes on Hawai‘i and on Maui began their eruptions; and earthquakes and convulsions produce or brought to light the other islands” (279).

5. Kepelino version: Hawai‘i-nui sailed to Hawai‘i with his eight steersmen: Here are their names: Makali‘i, a famous steersman and great farmer; Iao; Kahiki-Nui; Hōkū ‘Ula [perhaps the star Aldebaran]; Maiao; Kiopa‘a [“fixed,” one name for Polaris, the north star; also called Hōkūpa‘a]; Unulau; Polohilani [perhaps the star Schedir in Cassiopeia]. And because of their skill in observing the stars, each one called the star he observed after his own name. One steersman, Kahiki-Nui, has a land district on Maui named after him.

6. Earlier in the story we are told that only Hawai‘i Loa came with a wife and children so he was “the special progenitor of this nation” (278). Kepelino concludes, “Hawai‘i-nui was perhaps a chief or perhaps not; he was a man of high standing (ke kanaka ko‘iko‘i), as I see it. He had a granddaughter Ku-ka-lani-ehu, who lived in ancient times.” A note at the end of the Fornander version states, “In the first age, from Hawai‘i Loa to Wākea, the royal authority and prerogative were not

very well defined. The chiefs were regarded more in the light of parents and patrons (haku), than as moi and ali‘i-kapu, although they enjoyed all the honor and precedence due to their rank. This state of things was considerably altered by Wākea, his priest and successors, yet even so late as the time of Kanipahu, who refused the government, it is evident that the royal authority was not well settled in the olden times (‘aole he ano nui o nā ’li‘i i ka wā kahiko loa ’ku) (281).

7. See Kamakau, *Tales and Traditions* (133-135) for one version of the story of Papa and Wākea. Papa and Wākea are considered by many as the first female and male ancestors of the Hawaiian people: “Wākea, from whom all Hawaiian genealogies stem as the anctors of the Hawaiian people, ‘both chiefs and commoners’ is regarded as a man in Hawaiian tradition, not as a god as in southern groups [of Polynesia].” (Beckwith 294)



Hawai‘iloa, a modern replica of a Hawaiian voyaging canoe (1995)

Moʻikeha

Moʻikeha was an aliʻi nui (high chief) from Moaʻulanuiākea, Tahiti, where he lived with his wife Kapo. They had a child named Laʻamaikahiki.[1]

When ʻOlopana and Luʻukia arrived in Tahiti,[2] Moʻikeha became infatuated with Luʻukia and soon after took her as his lover. ʻOlopana harbored no ill feeling toward Moʻikeha; in fact, he approved of his friend's affair with his wife. ʻOlopana was appointed the highest officer (kuhina nui) of the lands of Tahiti.

At about this time Mua lusted after Luʻukia, but she discouraged his approaches, even though he pressed his suit with great vigor. When he saw that he was rejected while Moʻikeha received Luʻukia's favors, he decided to cause trouble between them and to persuade Luʻukia to leave Moʻikeha.

Moʻikeha was very fond of athletic sports and often joined games such as paheʻe (sliding or skipping a wooden dart for distance) and ʻolohū (rolling a stone wheel for distance). At the fields where games were held, people gathered to cheer the winners. Luʻukia often heard the commotion and cheering. One day Mua happened to be with Luʻukia when he heard the cheering and said: "Ē Luʻukia, do you hear the cheering at the aliʻi's games?"

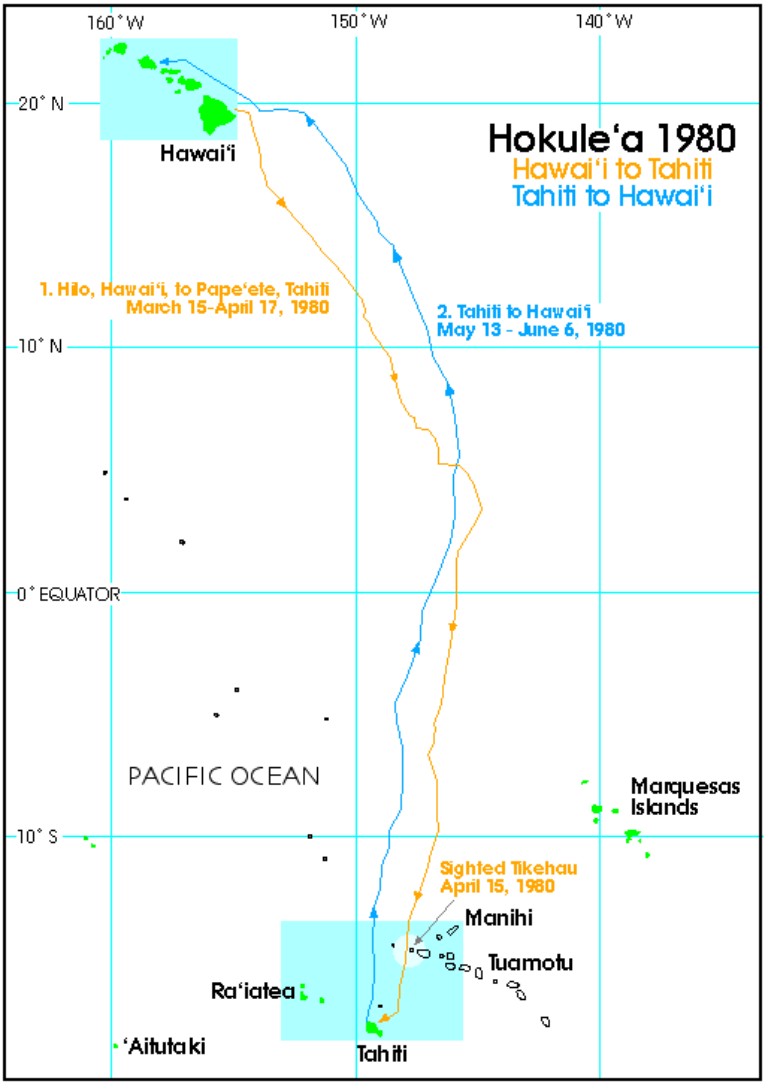
Luʻukia answered: "Yes, I hear the cheering."

"I don't think the cheering means well for you. No, Moʻikeha is publicly defaming you."

Luʻukia believed this lie and grew angry at Moʻikeha. She decided not to make love with him anymore and ordered her attendants to bind up her private parts (wahi hūnā) with cord to prevent him from reaching them. Luʻukia was corded from her waist down to mid-thighs, and the ends of the rope were then hidden in this lashing so it couldn't be undone. This lashing, called the "pāʻū of Luʻukia," is used to secure the covers of water-gourds and also to lash together the parts of single- and double-hulled canoes.

After Moʻikeha had enjoyed himself in the games, he returned home and met Luʻukia. Moʻikeha suspected from Luʻukia's face that something was wrong, so he began to wonder why she was unhappy.

That night, while preparing to sleep, Moʻikeha was surprised to



In 1980, the Polynesian Voyaging Society reenacted the two-way voyaging of Mo'ikeha and his family between Hawai'i and Tahiti. PVS guided its double-hulled, twin-masted canoe *Hōkūle'a* over the 2,500 miles course to Tahiti in March-April, then back to Hawai'i in May-June

find Lu'ukia still wearing her pā'ū (skirt), which had not been her habit when they were lovers. He didn't say anything, however. He bided his time, intending to find out in good time the reason for Lu'ukia's unusual behavior. On the fourth night Lu'ukia still wore the pā'ū to

sleep. The next night, Moʻikeha unfastened the pāʻū, and saw the lashing over her private parts.

"Why are you bound up like this?" Moʻikeha asked.

Luʻukia refused to speak to him. From evening until midnight Moʻikeha urged her to tell him the reason for this lashing, but she remained silent. All through the rest of the night Moʻikeha pondered over this recent change in Luʻukia. He complained: "I don't understand you. Here we were living happily, and now you won't even speak to me. What have I done to make you bind yourself up like this?"

There was no answer.

"Very well then, since you no longer want me, I'll go to elsewhere."[3]

Moʻikeha directed his foster-son Kamahualele to make ready a double-hulled canoe. "Let's go to Hawaiʻi," he said. "Here I'm tormented by my love for Luʻukia; when the ridge-pole of my house Lanikeha disappears below the horizon, I'll no longer think of Tahiti."

Kamahualele directed the paddlers to get the double-hulled canoe ready. Moʻikeha planned to take his sisters, Makapuʻu and Makaaoa, his two younger brothers, Kumukahi and Haʻehaʻe, his priest Moʻokini, and his prominent men (nā kānaka koikoi)—navigators (hoʻokele), favorite priests (kahuna punahele), and his lookouts (kiu nānā), who would spy out land.

Early one morning at dawn, at the rise of the navigation star (ka hōkū hoʻokelewaʻa; possibly Sirius), Moʻikeha boarded his double-hulled canoe with his fellow voyagers (hoa holo), and left Tahiti.

From the morning of departure until sunrise when they first beheld Hilo all went well (holo pono). Kamahualele stood up and celebrated their arrival in Hawaiʻi with a mele:

Behold Hawaiʻi, an island, a man [a]
A man is Hawaiʻi
A man is Hawaiʻi
A child of Kahiki
A royal bud from Kapaʻahu [b]
From Moaʻulanuiākea Kanaloa
A descendant of Kahiko and Kapulanakehau
Born of Papa, [c]
The daughter of Kūkalaniʻehu and Kahakauakoko [d]
Sprouts of land in a line

Placed alike to the East, to the West
Arranged evenly in a line
Joined to, joined from Holani
Kaialea, the seer, circumnavigated the islands
Left Nukuhiwa behind; landed on Borabora
Kahiko is the source of land
He divided and separated the islands
Severed the fish-line of Kaha‘i [e]
Cut by Kū-Kanaloa
Divided up was the lands, the islands
Cut by the sacred bamboo knife of Kanaloa
Of Haumea Manukahikele
Mo‘ikeha is the chief who will live there
My chief shall dwell in Hawai‘i
Life! Life! Set life free!
Long live the chief, the priest,
Long live the seer, the servant,
They shall dwell quietly in Hawai‘i
The grandchildren will sing out on Kaua‘i
Kaua‘i, the island
Mo‘ikeha, the chief.

[*The Hawaiian text and notes to the chant follow:*

Eia Hawai‘i, he moku, he kanaka
He kanaka Hawai‘i, e—
He kanaka Hawai‘i
He kama na Kahiki
He pua ali‘i mai Kapa‘ahu
Mai Moa‘ulanuiākea Kanaloa
He mo‘opuna nā Kahiko, laua o Kapulanakehau
Na papa i hanau
Na ke kamawahine a Kūkalani‘ehu, laua me Kahakauakoko
Nā pulapula ‘āina i paekahi
I nonoho like i ka Hikina, Komohana
Pae like ka moku i lālani
I hui aku, hui mai me Holani
Puni ka moku o Kaialea ke kilo
Nahā Nu‘uhiwa, lele i Polapola
O Kahiko ke kumu ‘āina

Nāna i mahele ka'awale na moku
Moku ke aho-lawai'a a Kaha'i
I 'okia e Kū-Kanaloa
Pauku nā 'āina, nā moku
Moku i ka 'ohe kapu a Kanaloa
O Haumea Manukahikele
O Mo'ikeha ka lani nana e noho
Noho ku'u lani iā Hawai'i—a—
Ola! Ola! O Kalana-ola!
Ola ke ali'i, ke kahuna;
Ola ke kilo, ke kauwa;
Noho ia Hawai'i a lulana;
A kani mo'opuna i Kaua'i
O Kaua'i ka moku—a—
O Mo'ikeha ke ali'i.

a. Kamahualele's chant is from Fornander, Vol. IV, pp. 20-21.

b. In the story of Opuukahonua, a fisherman named Kapuheeuanui from Kapa'ahu fished up coral rocks, which, after being blessed, named, and thrown back into the water, grew into islands and became chiefs. ("That is a man, a chief....") Thus, were named and formed Hawai'iloa, Mauiloa, O'ahunuiala'a, and the rest of the islands of Hawai'i. (Fornander, Vol. IV, pp. 20-23; see also Makuakaumana's chant concerning Hawai'i in "Pā'ao.")

c. According to some traditions, Kahiko ("Ancient") was the first ancestor, and Kapulanakehau was his wife; Wākea was their son and Papa was his wife. They were born in Kahiki (Malo 4-5).

d. Kūkalani'ehu (k) and Kahakauakoko (w) are given as the parents of Papa in the Kumuhonua genealogy (Fornander, Vol. VI, 279); Kūkalani'ehu is descended from Hawai'iloa, who, according to the account in Fornander, discovered and settled Hawai'i; Kahakauakoko is "the sixth descendant" of Makali'i, one of Hawai'iloa's navigator.

e. See the Tahitian story of Tafa'i for the tradition of Tafa'i's fishing up the Tuamotus, discovering Hawai'i and attempting to drag the islands of Hawai'i closer to the islands of Tahiti-nui.]

After the canoe landed at Hilo, Kumukahi and Haʻehaʻe were charmed by the ʻāina (land) and told Moʻikeha they wanted to remain there, so Moʻikeha let them off the canoe.

Soon after, Moʻikeha set sail from Hilo, passing along the north coast of Hawaiʻi until he arrived at Kohala. Moʻokini and Kaluawilinau wanted to reside at Kohala, so Moʻikeha put them ashore there. He sailed on to the east coast of Maui and landed at Hāna. Honuaʻula wanted to reside there, so he was allowed to remain behind. Moʻikeha sailed on. When he was between Lānaʻi and Molokaʻi, directly off of Kawela, Kamahualele spied a fishing canoe outside Kalaʻau Point, so he steered Moʻikeha's canoe there. Arriving at the fishing canoe, he found it belonged to Kakakauhanui, who came there regularly.

When Moʻikeha saw this large, well-built man, who appeared powerful and fearless, Moʻikeha befriended him. Moʻikeha told him: "I'm going to leave you here, but when I find a place for us to live, I'll send someone to bring you to me."

Moʻikeha and his people continued on their journey. Arriving at Oʻahu, Moʻikeha's sisters Makapuʻu and Makaaoa said: "We wish to reside here, where we can see the cloud drifts of Tahiti."

So Makapuʻu and Makaaoa were allowed to remain on Oʻahu, thus leaving Moʻikeha, his foster-son Kamahualele, the two padddlers Kapahi and Moanaikaiaiwe, Kipunuiaiakamau and his companion, and the two lookouts, Kaukaukamunolea and his companion, to continue on the journey.[4]

Moʻikeha left Oʻahu and sailed to Kauaʻi, landing at Wailua. It was dark by the time they arrived, so they did not land, instead, mooring their canoe offshore. Early the next morning the people saw this double-hulled canoe floating offshore with the kapu sticks of a chief aboard. The canoe was brought ashore and the travellers got off. Meanwhile the locals were gathering in a crowd to go surf-riding at Ka-makaīwa. Among them were the two daughters of the aliʻi nui of Kauaʻi, Hoʻoipoikamalanai and Hinauu.

Moʻikeha and his companions saw the crowd and followed along to take part in the morning exercise. Moʻikeha was a handsome man with dark reddish hair and a tall, commanding figure.

When Hoʻoipoikamalanai and her sister saw Moʻikeha, they immediately fell in love with him, and they decided to take him for their husband. Moʻikeha in the meantime was also struck with the beauty and grace of the two sisters, and he, too, fell in love with them and decided

to take one of them to be his wife. After enjoying the surf for a time, Hoʻoipoikamalanai and her sister returned home and told their father about the new arrival and said: "We wish to take that young chief as a husband for one of us." The father approved.

Orders were issued that Moʻikeha be brought to the house of the two aliʻi women. Moʻikeha and his company were sent for and brought in the presence of the king. The love of these young people being mutual, Hoʻoipoikamalanai and Hinauu took Moʻikeha to be their husband. Moʻikeha became aliʻi nui of Kauaʻi after the death of his father-in-law.

Moʻikeha had five children with Hoʻoipoikamalanai and Hinauu, all boys. Hoʻoipoikamalanai's children were Umalehu, Kaialea, Kila; Hinauu's children were Kekaihawewe and Laukapalala. In the genealogy from which these names are taken, Moʻikeha's descendants are given down to the reign of Manookalanipo, who became the ancestor of the chiefs of Kauaʻi and Niʻihau. But none of those who know anything about this genealogy can produce a direct line with any degree of accuracy.[5]

Moʻikeha worked to make his two wives and five children happy, giving his undivided attention to the bringing up of his boys. He thought no more of Luʻukia, but after a while, he began to feel a yearning desire to see his son Laʻamaikahiki, his child by his first wife Kapo. So he called his five sons together and said to them: "I'm thinking of sending one of you boys to bring your elder brother to Hawaiʻi." His boys became greatly excited, each one shouting: "Let me go! Let me go!!"

When Moʻikeha saw there would be much contention among his sons, he devised a test to determine who should be chosen to go to Tahiti.

He told his sons: "Let each of you bring a ti-leaf canoe and sail it across the river, one after another. The one whose canoe lands between my thighs shall be the one to go and bring your brother here."

Then he took the boys to the river in the order of their birth. He proceeded to the opposite bank of the river and sat down at the edge of the water facing the wind. Meanwhile the boys proceeded to a point right across and upwind from their father. The oldest boy set his canoe down in the water and aimed it toward the desired point, but it missed the mark. The second boy set his canoe down in the water and it, too, missed the mark. The third and fourth boys also took their turns and

they too failed to hit the mark. Then Kila, the youngest son, took his canoe and set it down in the water and it sailed directly to his father and passed between his thighs. When his brothers saw that their youngest brother had won, they became very angry and from then on they tried to devise some way of killing him.

Some time after this, Kila's older brothers invited him to go and play at shooting arrows; but their parents knew that the boys had no love for their youngest brother, so their father did not allow Kila to join them. The older brothers pretended to be kind to Kila in every way possible, but their father still refused to allow him to go.

At last, when it was almost time for Kila to undertake his trip to Tahiti to bring Laʻamaikahiki to Hawaiʻi, Moʻikeha gave Kila permission to join his older brothers: "My son, I'm not going to keep you away from your brothers any longer. The journey you are about to undertake may take you away from them forever, so you may accompany them from now until you leave. In the days following the kapu days of the temple, you shall sail for Tahiti."

Kila replied: "You must not permit me to accompany my brothers for I might get killed. I think you ought to provide them with a god so that they will fear the god and in that way they will be prevented from killing me. Then I think it will be safe for me to accompany my brothers."

Moʻikeha saw the boy's good judgment in the matter. He called his sons together and told them that they must now have a god. The boys would not consent to this. At this Moʻikeha approved of Kila's discretion and refused to allow the youngest to accompany his brothers on their excursions.[6]

Shortly after this Moʻikeha proceeded to get everything ready for Kila's voyage to Tahiti. Then Moʻikeha advised him as follows: "When you sail from here, go by way of Oʻahu and call on your aunts; they are living on the windward side of Oʻahu, facing Molokaʻi. When you call on them, they will recognize you."

After these words of advice, Moʻikeha picked out the men who were to accompany Kila on this voyage. Kamahualele, Moʻikeha's foster-son, was appointed as his travelling companion (hoa hele). Kapahi and Moanaikaiaiwa were selected as the paddlers (hoewaʻa). Kīpūnuiaiakamau and his companion were selected as navigators (hoʻokele) and steermen (kīpū, lit. to hold back a canoe with a paddle). In case the canoe was in danger of running aground,

Kamahualele would call out: "Kīpūnuiaiakamau, hold on!" Then he and his companion would hold back water and the canoe would come to a stop. (Thus,these two men were named Kīpūnui-aiakamau.) Kaukaukamunolea and his companion were selected as pilots (kiu, lit. "to scout or spy out").

When Kila was about ready to set sail, two Kaua'i people said they wanted to go with him—Hooholoku and his companion. And upon the expressed wish of Kamahualele, Kila took Kuaiwilu and Kauineno, making ten in this company, with Kila and Kamahualele the total was twelve.

When the men were ready, Mo'ikeha ordered the kāhuna kilokilo (who studied the signs in the heavens) to see if his son's journey would be safe. After reading the signs they announced that the journey would be safe. The kahuna Wanahili was selected as the thirteenth crew member.

At the dawn of the day the kāhuna had designated for departure, just at the rising of the navigation star (hōkū-ho'okele-wa'a, possibly Sirius), Kila set sail for O'ahu. Arriving off the shore of windward O'ahu where his aunts were living, he hove to in his canoe and called out: "My greetings to you, Makapu'u and Makaaoa."

Makapu'u and Makaaoa replied, "Who are you?"

"I am Kila of the uplands, Kila of the lowlands, Kila-pa-Wahineikamalanai. I am the offspring of Mo'ikeha."

"Is Mo'ikeha still alive then?"

"He is still alive."

"What is he doing?"

"Dwelling in ease on Kaua'i, the sun rising and setting; the surf of Makaīwa breaking unevenly; the kukui blossoms of Puna changing; the waters of Wailua spreading out. He will live and die on Kaua'i."

"What brings you here?"

"I am searching for a chief."

"What chief?"

"La'amaikahiki."

Then Kila left O'ahu and sailed for Kala'au Point where Mo'ikeha's friend Kakakauhanui was living. Kila again called out as he did to his aunts. Kila visited all the people left by Mo'ikeha, from O'ahu to Hawai'i, then proceeded to Tahiti.

The crew first landed at Moa'ulanuiākea-iki where Kūpōhihi was living, a human rat [a member of the rat clan], one of Mo'ikeha's uncles.

They called at Kūpōhihi's because they were out of food. Kila called out to his granduncle in the same manner as when he called on his aunts, and the crew was supplied with food.

Arriving in Tahiti, they saw Lanikeha, the royal house (hale aliʻi) of Moʻikeha. After staying there for a few days, they again set sail for Moaʻulanuiākea-nui and landed on the beach. Kila and Kamahualele set out to call on Luʻukia. When Kila arrived at Luʻukia's residence, he called out: "My greetings to you, Luʻukia."

"Who are you?"

"I am Kila of the uplands, Kila of the lowlands, Kila-pa-Wahineikamalanai. I am the offspring of Moʻikeha."

"Is Moʻikeha still alive then?"

"He is still alive."

"What is he doing?"

"Dwelling in ease on Kauaʻi, the sun rising and setting; the surf of Makaīwa breaking unevenly; the kukui blossoms of Puna changing; the waters of Wailua spreading out. He will live and die on Kauaʻi."

"What brings you here?"

"I am searching for a chief."

"What chief?"

"Laʻamaikahiki."

"Your brother is hidden on the mountain of Kapaʻahu; we haven't seen him."

After this conversation with Luʻukia, Kila retired to Lanikeha, Moʻikeha's residence at Moaʻulanuiākea. Later Kamahualele and Kila looked for Laʻamaikahiki for many, many days, but couldn't find him. He had been hidden. Finally, Kila gave up and rested.

On the day before the kapu nights, Kila told Kamahualele. "You had better get our double-hulled canoe ready for our return voyage. I've decided to give up the search. Let's go back and tell Moʻikeha we couldn't find Laʻamaikahiki. Perhaps Moʻikeha will send someone else to continue the search."

Kamahualele proceeded to carry out Kila's orders, but he was not willing to give up the search. He thought it over and went to find Kuhelepolani, an aged kahuna of ʻOlopana. He brought her to Kila and said to him: "Let's delay our voyage home for a while to see if this old woman can find the chief for us. She is a kahuna to ʻOlopana. Perhaps she can direct us to your brother's secret residence."

Kila was gladdened by the prospects of finding his brother, but

he was a stranger to such matters and asked Kamahualele: "What is a kahuna? What can she do?" Kamahualele described the character and rites of the priestess. Then Kila insisted that the kahuna help him perform the rites that would allow him to see Laʻamaikahiki.

Since Kila was so anxious to find his brother, Kuhelepolani explained to him what he should do. "After tomorrow, you will find Laʻamaikahiki on the mountain of Kapaʻahu. When we hear the beating of the drum Hawea, the drum which belongs to your father, Moʻikeha, you must place a human sacrifice on the altar at Lanikeha, your father's heiau; then you will be able to see your brother. The drumbeat is a signal for sacrifice during the kapu nights. Tomorrow night is the night of the strictest kapu (kapu loa), and it has always been so from your father's time."

On the evening of the following day, the drum of Laʻamaikahiki was heard. Hearing the drum, Kamahualele was ordered to find a person for the sacrifice and to place the corpse on the altar according to the instructions of the aged priestess. During this night, when the drum was heard, Kuhelepolani came to Kila and asked him: "Did you hear the drum? The time has come when you will see your brother. Follow me wherever I go."

All that night and the next day Kila followed the aged kahuna. At evening, when they arrived near the place where Laʻamaikahiki was living, Kuhelepolani told him: "Let us remain here until we hear the drum again. Then you will enter into the mua (the house where people worship within the temple). When we get to the door of the mua, go in and conceal yourself in one of the corners; remain in your hiding place until your brother enters the house. Then be watchful; the one who approaches and strikes the drum is Laʻamaikahiki; after the priests line up and begin the prayer service (kaʻi ka ʻaha), call out to him."

Kila and Kuhelepolani remained where they were until they heard the beating of the drum. That evening, after the sun had set, they approached the door of the mua and Kila went in and hid himself. When he entered the mua, Kuhelepolani rose and walked away, as it was the law (kanawai) that women were forbidden to join the priests at the kapu houses. Not very long after Kila had entered the mua, Laʻamaikahiki came in and went and stood before the drum, where he remained awaiting the arrival of the priests. Shortly thereafter the priests entered. One of them offered a blessing (pule), after which they prepared to begin the prayer service.

At this moment Kila came forth and called out: "My greetings to

you, Laʻamaikahiki."

"Who are you?"

"I am Kila of the uplands, Kila of the lowlands, Kila-pa-Wahineikamalanai. I am the offspring of Moʻikeha."

"Is Moʻikeha still alive then?"

"He is still alive."

"What is he doing?"

"Dwelling in ease on Kauaʻi, the sun rising and setting; the surf of Makaīwa breaking unevenly; the kukui blossoms of Puna changing; the waters of Wailua spreading out. He will live and die on Kauaʻi."

"What brings you here?"

"I've been sent by our father to come and take you to him as he is very anxious to see all his children together. I've been looking for you since my arrival here, but I was unable to find you; just as I was about to give up the search and return to Hawaiʻi, an old woman came to me and told me how to find you."

Laʻamaikahiki immediately prepared to accompany his brother to Hawaiʻi, as Moʻikeha wished. Laʻamaikahiki took his priests and his god Lonoikaoualii, and set sail for Hawaiʻi with the men who had come with Kila. When they were approaching Kauaʻi, Laʻamaikahiki began beating his drum. Moʻikeha heard his drum and ordered everything, the land as well as the house, to be made ready for the reception of the chief Laʻamaikahiki. Upon the arrival of Laʻamaikahiki and Kila, the high priest of Kauaʻi, Poloahilani took Laʻamaikahiki and his god Lonoikaʻoualiʻi ("Lono at the Chiefly Supremacy") to the heiau. It is said that Laʻamaikahiki was the first person to bring a god (akua) to Hawaiʻi.

Laʻamaikahiki lived on Kauaʻi for a time. Then he moved over to Kahiki-nui on Maui. This place was named for Laʻamaikahiki's homeland, in honor of him. As the place was too windy, however, Laʻamaikahiki left for the west coast of the island of Kahoʻolawe, where he lived until he finally returned to Tahiti. Because Laʻamaikahiki lived on Kahʻoolawe and set sail for home from that island, the ocean to the west of Kahoʻolawe is called Kealaikahiki, "The Road to Tahiti."

After the death of Moʻikeha, his corpse was taken to the cliffs of Hāʻena where it was deposited. Soon after this Kila assumed the chiefdomship in place of Moʻikeha, according to the wishes of his late father, his mother and aunt, and his mother's father.[7]

After Laʻamaikahiki arrived back in Tahiti, he heard through Hawena that Moʻikeha had died; so he decided to return to Hawaiʻi for the bones of his father. He set sail for Hawaiʻi and first appeared off the Kaʻū coast. By evening of the same day his canoe was moored on the beach at Kailikiʻi.

In the evening the people of Kaʻū heard the beating of a drum (pahu) accompanied by the notes of a bamboo flute (ʻohe kāʻeke).

The people were startled and rushed out to see where these sounds were coming from. Outside, they saw that the sounds came from aboard a double-hulled canoe and remarked: "It's the canoe of the god Kūpulupulu [a god of canoe builders]." When the people heard that it was the canoe of Kūpulupulu, they prepared vegetable food and pig as offerings to the god. At dawn of the next day, the canoe and the people on it were seen, and the people ashore cried out: "You makers of the sounds, here are vegetable food and pig; they are offerings for the god."

Laʻamakahiki did not stay long at Kailikiʻi. He set sail again, going up the Kona coast. On this passage from Kaʻū to Kona, Laʻamakahiki continued to beat the drum and play the flute, and he treated as a god by the Kona people, just as he was by the people of Kaʻū. It was on this visit that Laʻamaikahiki introduced hula dancing, accompanied by the drum, to Hawaiʻi.

After receiving vegetable food and pig from the Kona people, Laʻamaikahiki continued on his journey to Kauaʻi where he met his brother Kila and arranged to take the bones of Moʻikeha to Tahiti. Soon after, the bones of Moʻikeha were brought from Hāʻena. Laʻamaikahiki stayed a long time on Kauaʻi teaching the people the art of dancing. From Kauaʻi Laʻamaikahiki visited all the other islands of this group and thus the drum dance (hula kāʻeke) spread to the other islands.

After Laʻamaikahiki returned to Kauaʻi from his tour of the other islands, he took his brother Kila and the bones of their father to Tahiti with him. The bones were to deposited in the mountain of Kapaʻahu, Moʻikeha's own inheritance. Laʻamaikahiki and Kila also lived there until their death. Nothing more was heard about these two brothers.[8]

Notes

This version of the Moʻikeha story is from Fornander, Vol. IV, pp. 112-128; the story of Laʻamaikahiki is found on pp. 152-154 of the same volume. Other versions of the Moʻikeha-Kila-Laʻamaikahiki story are

found in Kamakau's *Tales and Traditions* (105-110) and Kalākaua's *Legends and Myths of Hawaii* ("The Triple Marriage of Laa-mai-kahiki," 117-135).

1. For a discussion of the location of Moʻikeha's homeland in Tahiti, see Rubellite Kawena Johnson's "From the Gills of the Fish: The Tahitian Homeland of Hawaii's Chief Moʻikeha." Johnson points out that Fornander favored the island of Raʻiātea as the homeland, while Teuira Henry favored the island of Tahiti-nui. Based on an analysis of Tahitian and Hawaiian place names, Johnson argues for Tahiti-nui as Moʻikeha's homeland, though "not greater Tahiti-nui as [Henry] suggests…but its peninsula to the south" (51).

2. According to one tradition, ʻOlopana and Luʻukia left Waipiʻo after a flood (Beckwith 353); See note 3 below: Kalākaua says ʻOlopana migrated to Tahiti after a hurricane and flood devastated Waipiʻo. A flood as a cause of a migration is found also in the Easter Island tradition of Hotu Matua; though the flood in that tradition seems to refer to the rising of the sea level (Barthel 10).

3. According to another tradition recorted by Kamakau, both Moʻikeha and ʻOlopana belonged to Tahiti. Moʻikeha left Kahiki and came to Hawaiʻi because he had "opened the food-offering calabash of his older brother ʻOlopana and had been caught undoing the chastity belt of ʻOlopana's wife Luʻukia, the ʻaha, or sennit cord, binding called Luʻu-a-nā-koʻa-i-ka-moana. He was severely criticized and so he went off to sea" (Kamakau 105).

In the Kalākaua version, both ʻOlopana and Moʻikeha belonged to Hawaiʻi. They were grandsons of Maweke, a native chief of the Nanaula line and aliʻi nui of Oʻahu. Maweke had three sons—the eldest, Muliealiʻi, became aliʻi nui of the western side of Oʻahu; Kalehenui was given land in Koʻolau; Keaunui resided in ʻEwa. Muliealiʻi had three sons—Kumuhonua, who became aliʻi nui of Oʻahu, and ʻOlopana and Moʻikeha, who were given small holdings. The two younger brothers were dissatisfied with their lots on Oʻahu and settled in Waipiʻo on the Big Island. ʻOlopana married Luʻukia, a granddaughter of Hikapaloa, aliʻi of Kohala. Moʻikeha did not marry while living in Waipiʻo; he adopted a son, Laʻa, a son of Ahukai and a descendent of Paumakua, the famous voyaging chief of east Oʻahu, who "visited all foreign lands then known to the Hawaiians" (119).

In the Kalākaua version, ʻOlopana and Moʻikeha left Hawaiʻi in five canoes after a hurricane and floods devastated Waipiʻo. He and his brother sailed south and landed on Raʻiātea, where they took possession of the land. ʻOlopana became the ruler and Moʻikeha his chief adviser. Moʻikeha's house and heiau were called Lanikeha ("heavenly resting place"—possibly a variant of Laniākea, the Hawaiian form of the name Raʻiātea?). Moʻikeha left Raʻiātea to return to Hawaiʻi after his brother became jealous of his growing prosperity and popularity. A native aliʻi named Mua, with ambitions of replacing Moʻikeha as chief adviser, fueled ʻOlopana's jealousy.

4. Some of the names of Moʻikeha's crew have survived as place names on the islands where they settled: Kumukahi is the easternmost point of Hawaiʻi; Haʻehaʻe is a land division near Kumukahi. Honuaʻula is a district of south-central Maui; Makapuʻu is the easternmost point of Oʻahu.

Kamakau gives the following list of people let off the canoe as it sailed through the Hawaiian Islands from east to west: Moaʻula, who remained at Punaluʻu, Hawaiʻi; Pāhaʻa and Panaʻewa, who remained at Lahaina, Maui; Laʻamaomao, who remained at Haleolono, Kaulakoʻi, Molokaʻi; Pōkaʻī and Mōʻeke, who remained at Waiʻanae, Oʻahu.

Kalākaua says that Moʻikeha sailed from the harbor of Opoa on Raʻiātea. The double-hulled canoe was nearly a hundred feet long and the crew was over forty. It included the prophet, poet, and astrologer Kamahualele; the priest Moʻokini; and Laʻamaomao, the director of the winds.

After an apparently uneventful 2500 miles voyage, Moʻikeha arrived at Kaʻū, where a joyous crowd greeted the canoe and water and provisions were replenished. The canoe then proceeded to Cape Kumukahi and Kohala on Hawaiʻi, where it was welcomed by the aliʻi nui Kaniuhi; then to Honuaʻula on Maui. Moʻikeha was warned by his priest and seer against going to ʻEwa to visit his father Mulielealiʻi, so he sailed north around Oʻahu, stopping only at Makapuʻu and Makaaoa. He landed on Kauaʻi, near Kapaʻa.

5. Kamakau's Version of Moʻikeha's Marriage: Moʻikeha married one woman whose name was both Hoʻoipoikamalanai and Hina-ʻau-lua. Moʻikeha's three children were Hoʻomaliʻi, named for the skin of ʻOlopana; Haulani-nui-ai-ākea for the eyes of ʻOlopana; and Kila, for Luʻukia, the wife of ʻOlopana.

Kalākaua's Version of Moʻikeha's Marriage: Moʻikeha married Hoʻoipo after winning the right to do so in a canoe race devised by Puna, the aliʻi of Wailua and the father of Hoʻoipo. Puna sent a servant with a palaoa (a carved and consecrated whale-tooth) to the island of Kaʻula (SW of Kauaʻi). Nine suitors raced to the island to be the first to bring the whale-tooth back. Moʻikeha won the race by sailing to Kaʻula with the help of Laʻamaomao, his director of winds, who had a calabash that contained all the winds of Hawaiʻi, which he could call forth by chanting their names. In this version, Moʻikeha had seven sons with Hoʻoipo; the third was called Kila.

6. Neither Kamakau nor Kālakaua mention the rivalry of the brothers or the test of the ti-leaf canoes, which is the central incident in the Fornander version. A test involving toy canoes is a motif in Polynesian voyaging traditions. The story of Tafaʻi includes a version of this test: the young voyaging hero Tafaʻi made a twig canoe that beat the twig canoes of the other boys to shore.

7. The Fornander version of Moʻikeha continues on with the story of Kila (Vol. IV, 128-152) before telling the story of Laʻamaikahiki's second visit to Hawaiʻi.

Kamakau's Version of Kila's Voyage to Tahiti: Moʻikeha sent all three sons to Tahiti to bring Laʻa to Hawaiʻi. Moʻikeha had designated Laʻa, the first born, as heir to his lands and titles. The youngest son Kila was placed in command of the canoe, the same one Moʻikeha himself sailed from Kahiki to Kauaʻi. "He first taught Kila the way to sail over the ocean and to study the stars…." After departure, the canoe was becalmed off Malae Point in Waiʻanae and Kila and his two brothers met Pōkaʻī and Mōʻeke, two of Moʻikeha crew members from the voyage to Hawaiʻi. When asked about his father, Kila replied: "He is enjoying surfing at the stream mouth, body surfing from morning to night on the waves of Kaʻōhala in the sheltered calm of Waimahanalua—the openness of Kēwā and its swayng kalukalu—the two hills that bear Puna like a child in arms—the diving place at Waiehu where the taro grows as big as ʻape—the curling of the waves at Makaīwa—his beautiful wife, my mother Hoʻoipo-i-ka-malanai. Moʻikeha will die on Kauaʻi; he will not return to Kahiki lest his feet be wet by the sea."

The canoe proceeded on to Molokaʻi, Maui, and Hawaiʻi, then left from Kalae in Kaʻū for Kahiki. In Kahiki, they found ʻOlopana was

the high chief and Luʻukia the chiefess, Laʻa the heir to the kingdom ʻOlopana persuaded Kila not to take Laʻa to Hawaiʻi. So Kila and his brothers returned to Hawaiʻi without Laʻa. After returning, Kila settled on Hawaiʻi, and became "a chiefly ancestor for the chiefs and commoners of Hawaiʻi and Maui." The oldest brother, Hoʻokamaliʻi, settled in ʻEwa on Oʻahu. Haulani-nui-ai-ākea, the second oldest, settled on Kauaʻi and became an ancestor of chiefs and commoners of Kauaʻi. After ʻOlopana's death, Laʻa sailed to Hawaiʻi on his own. (See note 6 for Kamakau's account of this voyage.)

Kalākaua's Version of Kila's Voyage to Tahiti: Laʻa was Moʻikeha's adopted son; he was born in Hawaiʻi (not Tahiti as in Fornanader's and Kamakau's versions), a descendant of the famous Oʻahu voyaging chief Paumakua. Laʻa accompanied his foster-father Moʻikeha and foster-uncle ʻOlopana to Raʻiātea in the Society Islands after their home in Waipiʻo Valley was devastated by a flood. Laʻa remained in Tahiti, not returning with Moʻikeha to Hawaiʻi, because Laʻa had become the heir to ʻOlopana, the ruler of Raʻiātea.

In his old age, Moʻikeha longed to see Laʻa and ordered his men to repair his canoes. He also had a special gift made—a cloak of mamo feathers: "As but a single small yellow feather of the kind used in a royal mantle is found under each wing of the mamo, the task of securing the many thousands required was by no means a brief or easy service;… As the choicest feathers alone were used, the garment was one of the most brilliant and elaborate ever made on Kauaʻi and represented the labor of a hundred persons for a year put Kila in charge of bringing Laʻa to Hawaiʻi."

Moʻikeha put his third son Kila in charge of the voyage because of Kila's courage and skill as a navigator. Kila was delighted with the prospect of the voyage. He provisioned a fleet of double-hulled canoe in a few days with "dried fish, dried banana and plantains, coconuts, yams and potatoes and poi and paiai, fresh fruits and cooked fowls and pigs for early consumption. Large calabashes of fresh water were also provided, but frequent baths largely diminished the craving for that necessity… Sacrifices were offered, the auguries were pronounced favorable, and the fleet of double canoes set sail for the south." Kamahualele, the friend and astrologer of Moʻikeha, went as navigator and counsellor to Kila. Three of Kila's brothers went along.

After a smooth voyage, Kila found Laʻa in Tahiti and presented him with Moikeha's gift, the feather cloak. ʻOlopana objected to Laʻa going

to Hawai‘i until La‘a promised to stay in Hawai‘i only a short while, then return to Tahiti. La‘a went to Hawai‘i, visited Mo‘ikeha on Kaua‘i, and married three women, returning to Rā‘iatea after Mo‘ikeha’s death. (See note 6 for Kalākaua’s account of this voyage.)

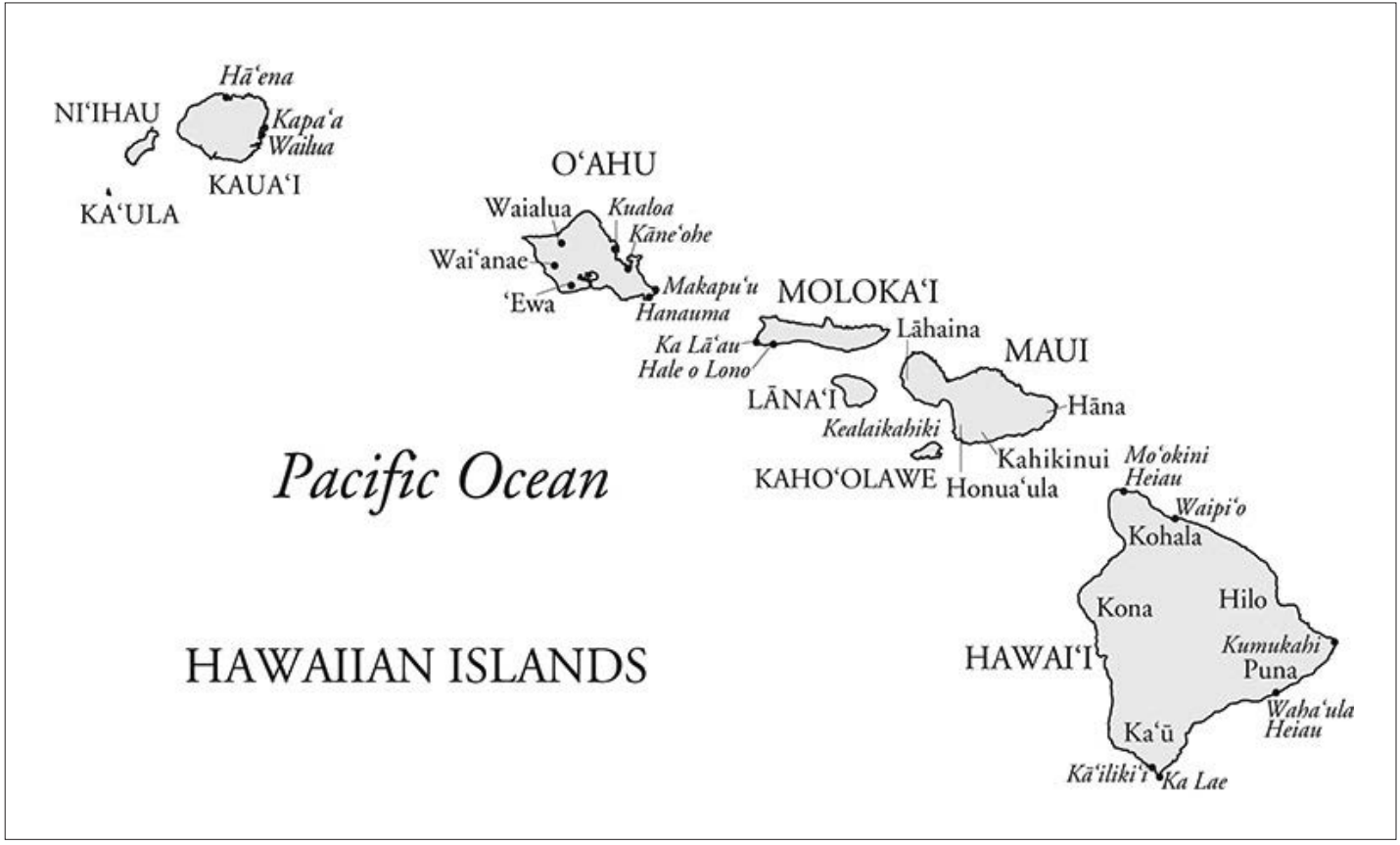
8. Kamakau’s Version of La‘amaikahiki’s Visit to Hawai‘i: After ‘Olopana’s death, La‘a sailed to Hawai‘i, with Ka‘ika‘i-kūpolō, the kahuna (priest); Kū-ke-ao-mihamiha, the kilo (seer); Lūhaukapawa, the kuhikuhipu‘uone (diviner); Kupa, the ho‘oheihei pahu (drummer); Mā‘ula-miahea, the kaula (prophet), and forty paddlers. The canoe sighted Maui and Moloka‘i first and continued on to O‘ahu. There a man named Ha‘ikamalama at Hanauma heard Kupa’s drumming and rushed to Makapu‘u to see where it was coming from. When he saw the canoe heading for Kāne‘ohe Bay, he rushed there. By the time La‘a landed at a place which came to be called Nā-one-a-La‘a (“The sands of La‘a”) in Kāne‘ohe, Ha‘ikamalama had learned Kupa’s mele. He performed it by tapping his chest with his fingertips. He pretended he already knew about the drum so he could examine it and later make one himself.

La‘a settled at Kualoa and married three ali‘i—Hoaka-nui-kapua‘i-helu, Waolena, and Mano. All three became pregnant on the same day and gave birth on the same day. La‘a “became an ancestor for chiefs and commoners of O‘ahu and also for Hawai‘i and Kaua‘i. His chiefly descendants are found in the mo‘o kū‘auhau of Nana‘ulu, Puna-i-mua, and Hanala‘a-nui.”

Kalākaua’s Version of La‘amaikahiki’s Visit to Hawai‘i: Once in Hawai‘i, La‘a visited several places, including Waialua, O‘ahu, where his family was from. He visited Mo‘ikeha on Kaua‘i, then moved to Kualoa on O‘ahu and consented to marry three wives, so that the blood line of Paumakua could be carried on in its native land. The wives are the same three mentioned by Kamakau—Hoakanui, daughter of Lonokaeha of Kualoa; Waolena, daughter of a chief of Ka‘alaea; and Mano, daughter of a chief of Kāne‘ohe “The names of the children were Ahukini-a-La‘a, Kukona-a-La‘a, and Lauli-a-La‘a, from whom in after-generations, the pride and glory of the governing families of O‘ahu and Kaua‘i trace their lineage. From Ahukini-a-La‘a Queen Kapi‘olani, wife of Kalākaua, is recorded in descent through a line of chiefs and kings of Kaua‘i.” After Mo‘ikeha’s death, La‘a returned to Ra‘iātea and voyaging between Hawai‘i and the southern homeland ceased.

Kamakau's version of the Moʻikeha tradition continues with the story of Moʻikeha's grandson Kahaʻi-a-Hoʻokamaliʻi, who sailed to Kahiki to go sightseeing, departing from Kalaeloa, Oʻahu. He brought back ulu (breadfruit) from ʻUpolu and planted it at Puʻuloa in ʻEwa, Oʻahu.

A celebration broke out in Papeʻete, Tahiti, when *Hōkūleʻa,* the first Polynesian voyaging canoe in five hundred years arrived from Hawaiʻi in 1976. (Photo: PVS Archive)


Hā'ena
NI'IHAU
Kapa'a
Wailua
KAUA'I
KA'ULA
O'AHU
Waialua
Kualoa
Kāne'ohe
Wai'anae
'Ewa
Makapu'u
Hanauma
MOLOKA'I
Lāhaina
Ka Lā'au
Hale o Lono
MAUI
LĀNA'I
Hāna
Kealaikahiki
Kahikinui
KAHO'OLAWE
Honua'ula
Pacific Ocean
Mo'okini Heiau
Waipi'o
Kohala
Kona
Hilo
HAWAI'I
Kumukahi
Puna
HAWAIIAN ISLANDS
Waha'ula Heiau
Ka'ū
Kā'iliki'i
Ka Lae

Pāʻao

Pāʻao was a priest, Makuakaʻūmana a prophet, Pilikaʻaiea a chief coming after Laʻau-aliʻi in the genealogy of Hema. They were from Wawau [Borabora] and ʻUpolo [Tahaʻa] and islands to the west. Kaʻakōheo was the sea-cliff from which they departed; and Malaia was the mountain ridge in ʻUpolo where the grass (mauʻu) grew which Pāʻao brought with him to Hawaiʻi. (A sister of Pāʻao who came to Hawaiʻi with him was named Nā-mauʻu-Malaia, or "The grass of Malaia.")

Pāʻao left his birthplace because of a quarrel with his older brother Lonopele, who was a kahuna, a man of mana (supernatural power), very intelligent, with knowledge of everything of concern to a kahuna. Both were farmers. Lonopele cultivated his land near the seashore with sweet potato, taro, banana, and other fruitful plants. Once all the fruit was stolen and he believed Pāʻao's son was the thief. He went to his brother and told him, "Your son has stolen all my fruit."

Pāʻao said: "Are you sure my son is the thief?"

Lonopele replied: "I saw him in my field. I didn't see him taking the fruit, but I believe he is guilty."

"If that's so," Paao replied, "I'll cut open his stomach and find the evidence. But if your fruit is not there, then what?"

Lonopele replied: "What you do is up to you. If you cut open your son's stomach, that's your affair."

Pāʻao answered: "I'll cut open his stomach, and if fruit is found, you are right; if not, you are wrong." Pāʻao caught his son and cut open his stomach. No fruit was found. Then he told Lonopele to look and see.

Lonopele declined: "You're the one who should look into your son's stomach."

Pāʻao was full of grief over of his son's death. He said to his brother: "I'll find a way to kill your son. Then I will leave this land."

Pāʻao ordered his men to build a double-hulled voyaging canoe. His kālaiwaʻa (canoe carvers) hollowed out logs, carved the fittings, lashed and rigged the canoe, and painted the canoe black. The canoe was well-made. He placed a kapu on it: no one was to touch it until the lolo sacrifice was offered to insure a safe voyage.[1]

The kapu had been established for some time when the son of

Lonopele came along and slapped on the sides of the canoes. Pāʻao heard the sound and told his servants to find out who it was. They reported that the son of Lonopele was slapping the sides of the canoe. Pāʻao commanded them to kill the boy, which was done. Then the sacrifice to the canoe was made and the kapu was lifted. Pāʻao took the body and placed it under the supporting block at the stern of the canoe. After a few days Lonopele came to the canoe shed, greatly troubled, trying to find his son who, he feared, was lost.

Lonopele admired the fine finish of the canoe. While looking it over carefully from end to end, he noticed flies buzzing under the stern. He searched and found the corpse of his son and knew the boy had been murdered. He was sick with sorrow for his son and wailed grievously. Crazed with anger against Pāʻao, he said: "You've done a crazy thing, O Pāʻao! You've killed my son. You waited for an opportunity to take his life. Go! Leave this land, for you are an evil man!" With a mournful love song, Lonopele carried his son's corpse away.[2]

Pāʻao loaded his canoe with food, water, and supplies for an ocean voyage. The name given his canoe was Kanaloa-a-muia. [Or Ka-nalo-a-muia, "the swarming of flies."] Forty paddlers boarded the canoes. Also on board were two stewards (kānaka ʻāīpuʻupuʻu); the chief Pilikaʻaiea and his wife Hina-au-kekele (also called Hina-ʻau-aku); and Pāʻao'sister Nā-mauʻu-o-malaia. Pāʻao was the kahuna; Makaʻalawa, the kilo-hōkū (astronomer and navigator); Hōlau, the steersman; Pūʻolēʻolē, the conch shell blower; Nuʻu and Hōlawa, the ʻawa chewers. Pāʻao was consecrated for this voyage to find new land (ka holo ana e imi ʻāina). When everyone was ready to sail, Pāʻao stood on the canoe while some prophets were standing on the Kaʻakōheo cliff. One called to him: "O Pāʻao! Let me go with you!"

Pāʻao asked, "Who are you?"

He replied: "I am a prophet."

"What is your name?"

"Lelekoaʻe ("Leaping tropic bird") is my name."

Pāʻao called back to him: "Leap onto the canoe."

Lelekoaʻe leaped and fell on the stones below and died. Then Pāʻao tested the powers of one prophet after another—Mākuʻepali, ʻŌhuku-pali, Kīkaha-pali and so on, but all of them failed and fell to their deaths.

Pāʻao sailed on and was nearly out of sight of land; only one cliff could be seen above the horizon behind him. A prophet stood there and called, "O Pāʻao, Let me go with you!" He called two or three times

before Pāʻao heard the voice, a faint whisper in the wind.

When Pāʻao looked back and saw a person standing on the brink of the cliff, he called out, "Who are you?"

The man replied, "A prophet."

"What is your name?"

"Makuakaʻūmana."

Pāʻao replied: "The canoe is full, there is but one place left, on the momoa (a projection at the stern)."

"That's my place."

"Then leap!" The prophet flew like a bird, landed on the momoa, and grabbed onto the manu (a piece covering the stern). He called out: " Here I am, where is my place on the canoe?"

"On the pola (platform between the two hulls)."

Thus, the prophecy of Kalaikuahulu concerning the prophet Makuakaʻūmana was fulfilled:

A fragile-tailed fish am I,
Moving swiftly before the heavens,
Travelling the dark, dark ocean
That roars at Halekumukalani.
I am the man, Makuakaʻūmana,
The prophet who traveled the islands,
Who circled the Pillars of Kahiki,
Who leapt and sat on Kaulia (a perching place).

When Pāʻao's canoe was out on the ocean, his brother Lonopele tried to sink the canoe. He sent the stormy south winds Konakū, Kona-nui-a-niho, Kona-moe, and Kona-hoʻāpuku, and the gusty winds, the gales, and the stormy winds of Hoʻoilo. But Pāʻao had mats to cover his hulls and keep the water out. While the wind was blowing fiercely with much rain, and the waves ran high, two kinds of fish, the aku and the ʻōpelu, gathered in the waters and quieted the waves. The Kona storms died down. Because of this help, both these fish were made kapu to the Pāʻao family and their descendants.

Lonopele looked out and saw that Pāʻao had not been destroyed, so he sent the cold northerly winds—Hoʻolua, Mālualua, Kiu, Waikōloa, and Makanihaunone, but the hulls were covered with mats to keep the water out and did not sink. Lonopele then sent a large bird, Kīkaha-ʻiwa–inā-pali, to defecate on the canoe and sink it. But the mats again protected the canoe.

Pāʻao landed in Puna, Hawaiʻi and built his first heiau as a temple for his god and named the heiau Ahaʻula. It was a luakini heiau (a temple for human sacrifice).

From Puna Pāʻao went to Kohala, landing at Puʻuepa where he built the luakini heiau called Moʻokini. It was thought that Pāʻao came in the time of the high chief Laʻauliʻi, because Pili became the ruling chief of Hawaii after Laʻauliʻi in the genealogy of Hanalaʻanui. The island of Hawaiʻi was without a chief, and so a chief was brought from Kahiki.[3]

Notes

This version of the story of Pāʻao has been compiled from Thrum's *More Hawaiian Folk Tales* (46-52); N.B. Emerson's "Long Voyages of the Ancient Hawaiians"; and Kamakau's *Tales and Tradtions of the People of Old* (3-5; 97-100). Another version of the Pāʻao tradition appears in Laura Green's *Folk-tales from Hawaiʻi* (120–124); the story was told in Hawaiian to Mary Kawena Pukui by Mrs. Kanuikaikaina of Hilo, Hawaiʻi; it was translated by Miss Green.

Mrs. Kanuikaikaina begins: "Two brothers, Pāʻao and Lonopele, were priests of the gods Kū and Lono in ʻUpolo, Sāmoa. Pāʻao was the priest of Kū-kāʻili-moku, who later became the war-god of Kamehmameha I, as "Kū-snatcher of islands."

According to Kamakau, Kūkāʻilimoku "was made of fine, soft feathers from the forehead of Kīwaʻa. Kīwaʻa was slain by Wai-kele-nui-a-īkū after he had been carried away by the bird. These feathers from its forehead were sacred feathers called Hina-wi-koliʻi. They flew to the lap of Nāmaka-o-kahaʻi. These feathers acquired mana and became Kūkāʻilimoku" (Kamakau 3). Kūkāʻilimoku eventually was passed down through through the ruling chiefs of the island of Hawaiʻi—through Liloa, ʻUmi a Liloa, and Keawenui a ʻUmi to Kamehameha the First, who conquered and united the islands of Hawaiʻi. This god demanded human sacrifice. Ahaʻula heiau later became known as Wahaʻula ("Red Mouth"), perhaps because of the human sacrifices laid there to Kūkāʻilimoku.

1. The lolo sacrifice for consecrating and lifting the kapu on a canoe so it could pass from the carver to the owner involved prayers and offerings to the canoe gods. Malo says pig, red fish, and coconuts were the offering "spread out before the kahuna" (129). Kamakau says

the symbolic foods were pig and dog, the "pig symbolizing the 'rooting' ('eku) of the canoe into the open sea and the dog the 'tearing apart' (hae aku) of the billows of the ocean. Sweet potatoes and taro were the vegetable foods" (Works 121-122). The Pukui-Elbert Dictionary (1986) defines lolo as "brains" and explains that it was a religious ceremony "at which the brain of the sacrficed animal was eaten (such ceremonies occurred at a canoe launching, start of journey, completion of instruction)," apparently to signify completion.

2. The Kanuikaikaina version of this tradition gives a slightly different account of the quarrel between the two brothers: "Pā'ao and Lonopele each had a son, and their pranks often led to quarrels between the fathers. One day, Lonopele's son entered the temple and stole a bit of the food placed for the sacrifice. Lonopele accused Pā'ao's son of the theft. A few days later, Lonopele's son stole more of the sacrifice and his father seized Pā'ao's son and had him put to death. Pā'ao was deeply grieved and in his heart he knew that Lonopele's son was at fault. He watched closely and was rewarded by seeing him run out of the temple with a bit of the offering in his hand. Then Pā'ao put Lonopele's son to death and hid his body under a canoe. For days Lonopele looked for his son and when at last he found him, he ordered his younger brother to depart and seek a new home."

3. Emerson writes that Hawai'i island had been without an pure-blooded ali'i for a long time; those that ruled Hawai'i were ali'i maka'āinana (royalty with the blood of commoners intermixed through marriage), or just commoners, maka'āinana. Thus, Pilika'aiea, of pure ali'i blood, became the ruler of the island. Pā'ao became his high priest. He established a strict religious system, introducing to Hawai'i the custom of kapu-o (prostration), the puloulou (a royal insignia marking off a kapu area), and the walled heiau (previously, heiau had been open courtyards.)

The Kanuikaikaina version gives the following ending: Pā'ao landed at Puna on the island of Hawai'i. There Pā'ao built the temple of Aha-'ula, or "Red-assembly," so named because of the red feather cloaks worn by the god Kū-kaili-moku and the other gods. He left priests here to care for the temple and to cover the lava rock with soil brought in pandanus baskets from the hill country, to plant rare trees and dig a well, so making an oasis in that desert place.

The priests kindled a fire in the temple grounds, which was

consecrated to their gods and kept burning night and day. Whatever man the smoke of that fire fell upon, whether high or low in rank, became a sacrifice to the gods. Hence the name of that temple was changed to Waha-ʻula, "Red-mouth," because it devoured men.

Pāʻao went to Pakaʻalana in the Hamakua district of Hawaii, where he built another temple. Here he left two white stones which were worshipped by the inhabitants of that district, especially by the high chief, Liloa. Pāʻao saw how the chiefs, or aliʻi, had sinned by intermarriage with commoners, thus diluting the sacred blood. [The chief of Hawaiʻi at that time was Kapawa (Fornander, Vol. IV, 22-23).] Pāʻao sailed back to Tahiti and brought a chief and his family from there to restore the ancient rank of chiefs in Hawaiʻi. This chief was Piliaoao, ancestor of Kamehameha 1st.

[According to Fornander (Vol. IV, 22-23), the chieftainship was first offered to Lonokaeho, who was invited to come to Hawaiʻi to rule by Makuakaʻūmana, the singing-priest of Pāʻao's expedition:

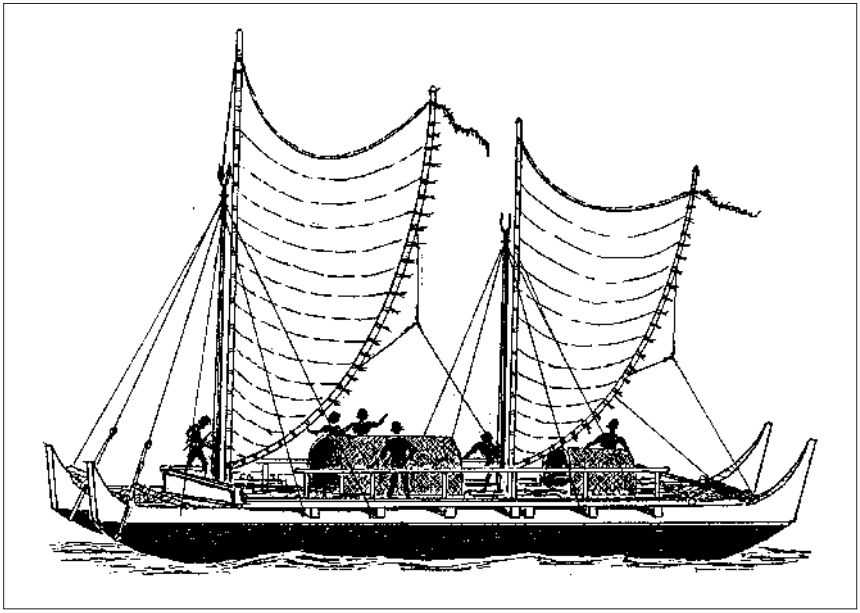
O Lono! Lono! Lonokaeho!
Lonokulani, aliʻi of Kauluonana,
Here are the canoes, come aboard
Return with us to live in green-backed Hawaiʻi
A land discovered in the ocean,
Thrown up amid the waves
From the very depths of Kanaloa
The white coral jagged in the water
Caught on the hook of the fisherman
The great fisherman of Kapaʻahu
The great fisherman of Kapuheʻeuanuʻu-la
When the canoes land, come aboard,
Sail to rule Hawaiʻi, an island,
Hawaiʻi is an island,
Hawaiʻi is an island
For Lonokaeho to live on.

Hawaiian text:

Ē Lono! ē Lono—e! ē Lonokaeho!
Lonokulani, aliʻi o Kauluonana,
Eia nā waʻa, kau mai
E hoi e noho ia Hawaiʻi-kua-uli

He ʻāina loaa i ka moana
I hoea mai loko o ka ale
I ka halehale Poi pu a Kanaloa
He koakea i hālelo i ka wai
I lau i ka makau a ka lawaʻia
A ka lawaiʻa nui o Kapaʻahu
A ka lawaiʻa nui o Kapuheʻeuanuʻu-la
A pae nā waʻa, kau mai;
E holo e ai ia Hawaiʻi, he moku;
He moku Hawaiʻi
He moku Hawaiʻi
No Lonokaeho e noho.

Lonokaeho refused the chiefship and proposed Piliaoao (or Pili-Kaʻaiea).] Pāʻao set up Piliaoao as the highest ruler on Hawaiʻi and served as his kahuna until Pili's death. Pāʻao's son served the son of Piliaoao, and so on for succeeding generations. Hewahewa, who was high priest in the time of Kamehameha 1st, was a descendant of Pāʻao and in 1819 when King Liholiho broke the tabu, Hewahewa was the first man to apply the torch to the King's temple and reduce his ancestral gods to ashes.



Hōkūleʻa, a modern replica of a Hawaiian voyaging canoe (1995)

Wahanui

Wahanui was the chief (aliʻi), Kilohi the prophet (kāula), and Hawaiʻi the land they lived in. Wahanui sailed in a double-hulled canoe from Hawaiʻi to Kaunolū, on the southern tip of Lānaʻi. He went because he had sworn, "I will trample on the chests of Kāne and Kanaloa (hehi i ka houpo o Kāne lāua o Kanaloa), then return to Hawaiʻi."[1]

Kāne and Kanaloa once lived together with their younger brother Kāneʻāpua at Kaunolū, Lānaʻi. They were three gods who sometimes changed into other forms, Kāne and Kanaloa having the bodies of birds and Kāneʻāpua having a human body.

One day, Kāne and Kanaloa became very thirsty, so they sent Kāneʻāpua to the uplands of Lānaʻi to get water at a spring called Nanaihale. Arriving at the spring with his water gourd, Kāneʻāpua urinated by the weedy edge before stooping to fill the gourd; he did not know that his urine seeped into the spring. When he arrived home and met Kāne and Kanaloa, they took the water gourd and drank to satisfy their thirst. They discovered that they had drunk urine instead of water, so they flew off, leaving Kāneʻāpua on Lānaʻi.[2]

One day Kāneʻāpua sat on the headland at Kaunolū. He saw the double-hulled canoe of Wahanui sailing by, so he called out from the shore: "Whose canoe is that?"

"It is Wahanui's," replied Kilohi.

"Wahanui is the chief, who is the prophet?"

"Kilohi."

"Where is the canoe sailing?"

"It is sailing to Kahiki; Wahanui wants to trample on the chests of Kāne and Kanaloa."

Kāneʻāpua called out: "Why not let me come too?"

Kilohi answered: "The main hull of the canoe (ke waʻa) is already full."

"If the canoe is full, let me ride on the cross-beams (ʻiako)."

"They are also full."

"Let me ride on the port hull (ama) then."

"That is full too."

This conversation went on until Kāneʻāpua had mentioned every

part of the canoe, trying to get a seat. After being denied a seat anywhere, Kāneʻāpua called out: "Return, a storm is coming."

Kilohi replied: "Who are you to tell my lord his canoe should return?"

The canoe continued on from Kaunolū to Kaʻena point [on the west end of Lānaʻi], where it encountered a heavy wind; soon after this a storm arose, and the canoe was overturned. Wahanui got a cramp in the cold water and the supplies were soaked. The travelers returned to land at Lele in Lahaina.

After sleeping there, they set out again the next day. As the canoe sailed past Kaunolū, Kāneʻāpua again asked for a seat, and again the prophet, Kilohi, told him there wasn't any room. The canoe left for Kahiki and was swamped in another storm and forced to return to shore. On this return, Wahanui realized that the boy Kāneʻāpua knew more than his prophet, Kilohi. So when they departed again, Kāneʻāpua was given a seat and the canoe sailed on.

There were two sailing masters aboard, Hoʻokele i Hilo and Hoʻokele i Kaʻū. Kāneʻāpua sat behind the sailing masters. Suddenly, a grey mist covered them, so thick that the aft couldn't be seen from the bow. The canoe sailed on and arrived at the land of Kānehūnāmoku,[3] a land which appeared to them in the form of a dog.

Kilohi said to Wahanui, "It's a dog; let's return to Hawaiʻi to rub noses with our children and wives before the man-eating dog of Hina devours us!" These words made it clear to Wahanui that Kilohi did not know much; they all would have been killed if Kāneʻāpua had not joined them.

Kāneʻāpua said: "You are mistaken, Kilohi; that is the land of Kānehūnāmoku. It recognizes you as a newcomer (malihini). When its dark shadow moves away, the sky will brighten. A man on the island is calling out now." When they drew nearer to the island, they saw a man gathering coral for food, a deadly food. Soon after this they left the land of Kānehūnāmoku behind and continued on their way.

After they had sailed for some time they looked up and saw two hills, Paliuli (Dark cliff) and Palikea (Light cliff), towering above and ahead of them. These two hills were two demi-gods (kupua) belonging to Kāne and Kanaloa, who wanted to kill the travelers. Kāneʻāpua said to Wahanui and Kilohi: "If those hills tumble down on us, we will all die. These hills of Kāne and Kanaloa will destroy us."

Kāneʻāpua then called out to Paliuli and Palikea: "Return below; if I am killed, you two will be ashamed."

At his words, the two hills lowered themselves in shame, and the travelers were saved from death. Kāneʻāpua then said to Wahanui: "You remain floating here while I dive below. My grandmother Honunuikuaʻeaʻea ("Great turtle with reddish brown back") is down there; if her back turns toward us, we will die, but if her face turns toward us, we will live." He dove down and called out: "Honunuikuaʻeaʻea, turn your face up."

She turned her face up: "Whose offspring (kupu) are you?"

"Yours."

"What is your name?"

"Kāneʻāpua."

The grandmother swam forward, crying, and then asked him: "What brings my lord here?"

"I need a rope to moor the canoe." She gave Kāneʻāpua her intestines (naʻau) and Kāneʻāpua rose to the surface and moored the canoe with them.

Kāne and Kanaloa opened the calabash in which the winds of Laʻamaomao[4] were kept. The winds came up, a storm arose, the sea became rough, the waves beat down, and puna coral was thrown up onto the beach. This storm lasted ten days. When the winds abated, the danger was over; no spirit (kupu) remained; only a dog belonging to Kāneʻāpua remained.

The travelers then went ashore on the sandy beach. Kāneʻāpua said to Wahanui: "Go until you find three men lying face up; they are Kāne, Kanaloa, and Mauli.[5] Trample on the chests of the three of them and return, but don't look back." Wahanui did as he was told and returned.

Kāneʻāpua said: "Wrap me up in a kapa cloth streaked with colors (ʻōniʻoniʻo) and say that I am your god, Kāneʻāpua." When Wahanui heard this, he kneeled down before Kāneʻāpua and made an offering (mōhai) of all the valuables he had brought with him. For the first time, the travelers realized that their guide was the god Kāneʻāpua. A crowd gathered—the silent ones (ke nāmū), the noisy ones (ke nāwā), the angry ones (ka huhū); they asked: "Where is your god?"

"He is standing here."

"Ë! you have a big god!"

"Yes, he could devour all of you without satisfying his hunger."

Then Kāneʻāpua said: "When you get to the house, don't sit in the good places (kahi maikaʻi) or you will die; sit in the bad places (kahi ʻinoʻino) and you will live." When the travelers arrived at the house, they followed the instructions given to them.

Some months passed; then they prepared to return home. Before they departed, Kāneʻāpua gave Wahanui a double-bodied person (he mau pilikua ʻelua).[6] The back of one was joined to the back of the other; their ribs (iwi ʻaoʻao) were fused together. There were two heads, four hands and feet, and four eyes. If one body went to urinate or defecate, the other had to go along, too, even if it didn't want to urinate or defecate; and so the two bodies went everywhere together. Wahanui decided to take this curiosity (milimili) with him back home to Hawaiʻi. Kāneʻāpua told him: "Don't show it to anyone until you reach home; otherwise, you will be killed."

On the return voyage, Wahanui landed first at Kauaʻi. A great crowd of people gathered, including the aliʻi Kupakoili and his seer (kilokilo) Luluupali. When the crew heard the shouting of the people on land, they leaped off the canoe onto shore; Wahanui joined them with his pilikua. When the people saw it, they gave a mighty shout.

When Kupakoili heard the shout, he asked his prophet, Luluupali: "How can I get that pilikua?"

Luluupali answered: "Kill the aliʻi and his men and destroy the canoe with fire."

Kupakoili's desire was fulfilled. Wahanui was killed and the pilikua taken.

A crew member, one of the bailers, escaped by diving underwater. Afterwards, he slept with a woman of Kauaʻi and settled there as a fisherman.

This man went fishing often, taking a large quantity of food with him when he went. His wife was puzzled by this and asked him about it. He answered: "What's wrong with taking all this food? It can easily be brought back in again."

One day he went fishing, and the right wind blew, carrying him over the ocean to Hawaiʻi. He landed there and told the people that Wahanui and his followers had all been killed on Kauaʻi, that only he had escaped. The people of Hawaiʻi were called together to prepare for avenging the death of their aliʻi. They sent canoes to Kauaʻi and invited Kupakoili and his people to come to Hawaiʻi to take all the canoes and the wealth for themselves. Every man, woman, and child on Kauaʻi came to Hawaiʻi.

When they arrived on Hawaiʻi, they were slaughtered; no one escaped.

Notes

The story of Wahanui is found in English and Hawaiian in Fornander Vol. IV (516-523). It is called a ka‘ao, or fictional story, rather than a mo‘olelo, or historical account. It can be read allegorically. Another version of the Wahanui story is found in Kamakau’s Tales and Traditions (104-105).

1. “Hehi i ka houpo o Kāne lāua o Kanaloa”—“trample on the chests of Kāne and Kanaloa"; the verb “hehi” also means to “desecrate” or “repudiate.” Why Wahanui wants to descrate the two major gods of Hawai‘i is not clear. Kāne and Kanaloa are associated with life-giving powers; they dug many springs around the islands, thus providing water to the people. Perhaps Wahanui has been misled by his prophet Kilohi. “Wahanui” means “Big mouth,” suggesting someone who talks to much or who cannot keep things to himself.

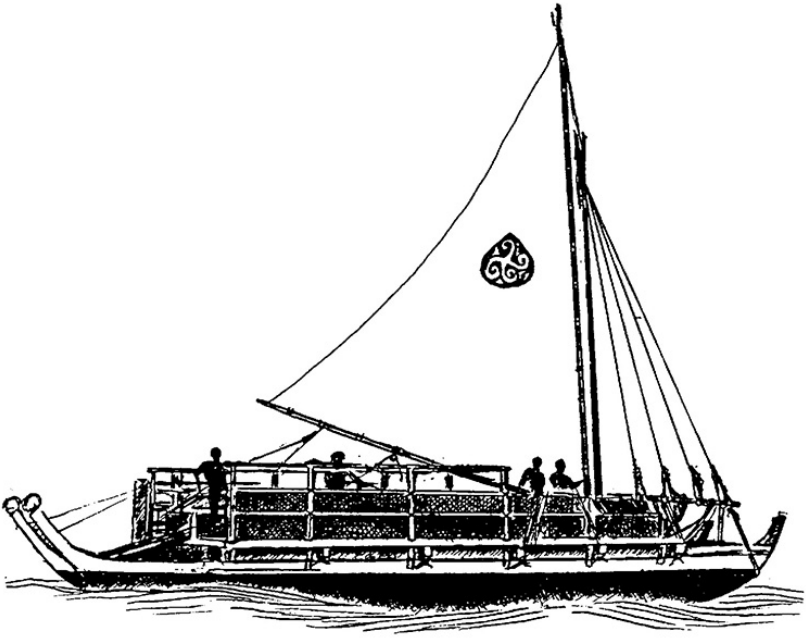
2. The Pukui-Elbert Dictionary (1965) translates Kāne‘āpua as “Kāne-fish trap"; but “‘āpua” also means “disloyal,” “disobedient,” “rebellious.” Kāne‘āpua’s desecration of Nanaihale spring is inadvertant; but after his two brothers abandon him, he guides Wahanui on a quest to trample on the chests of Kāne and Kanaloa, repudiating these two life-giving gods. Thus he is truly a rebel, like Satan in the Christian tradition. Perhaps he is seeking revenge on his two brothers for abandoning him. Just as Satan tempts Adam with an apple, Kāne‘āpua will tempt Wahanui with a curious gift that will lead to Wahanui’s death.

3. Kānehūnāmoku is the “hidden island of Kāne.” This is the island on which Kāne and Kanaloa lived; it is sometimes thought of as a cloudland floating between heaven and earth and a paradise where pious people were allowed to live with the gods, enjoying the delights of earth without labor or death. The life-giving waters of Kāne are said to be found on this island. The fact that the crew sees only a man gathering deadly coral for food suggests that they are not pious. See Beckwith (67 ff.) for various traditions connected with this land.

4. La‘amaomao is the deity who controls the winds, which are kept in a calabash.

5. Mauli, the third god mentioned here, is perhaps Mauli-ola, identified in the Pukui-Elbert Dictionary (1965) as "a god of health" whose name means "Breath of life." "Mauli" also means "heart," "seat of life," "spirit." As a god of health, he fits with Kāne and Kanaloa as life-giving gods. He is added to form a trinity of gods, which suggests Christian influence. Symbolically, Wahanui's trampling on these three gods foreshadows his death.

6. "Pilikua" is translated as "giant" in Fornander; however, from the description in the text, it seems clear that the storyteller is referring to a double-bodied person (i.e., Siamese twins). "Pili kua" means "joined at the back."



Te 'Aurere, a modern replica of a Maori voyaging canoe (1995)

Kupe

Te Matorohanga

Kupe was a great chief of Hawaiki (Tahiti), whose father was from Rarotonga, and whose mother was from Rangiātea (Ra'iātea), where her father lived. These were the three islands over which Kupe's mana (power) extended.

One day Kupe's fishermen went out with lines and hooks to their traditional fishing grounds. After a long time without any bites, the fishermen hauled up their lines and discovered that the bait had been taken. They put on fresh bait and lowered their hooks again, but the bait was taken again and again until all of it gone. They returned to shore and reported their lack of success to Kupe.

After a time, on another day, the fishermen went out again; the result was the same; their bait was taken from their hooks, and they returned home without a single fish. The fishermen reported their ill-luck again, and much discussion took place as to the cause of it. They finally decided to lay the matter before the priests (tohunga). The priests said that if the people planned to go fishing again, the lines and hooks should be blessed.

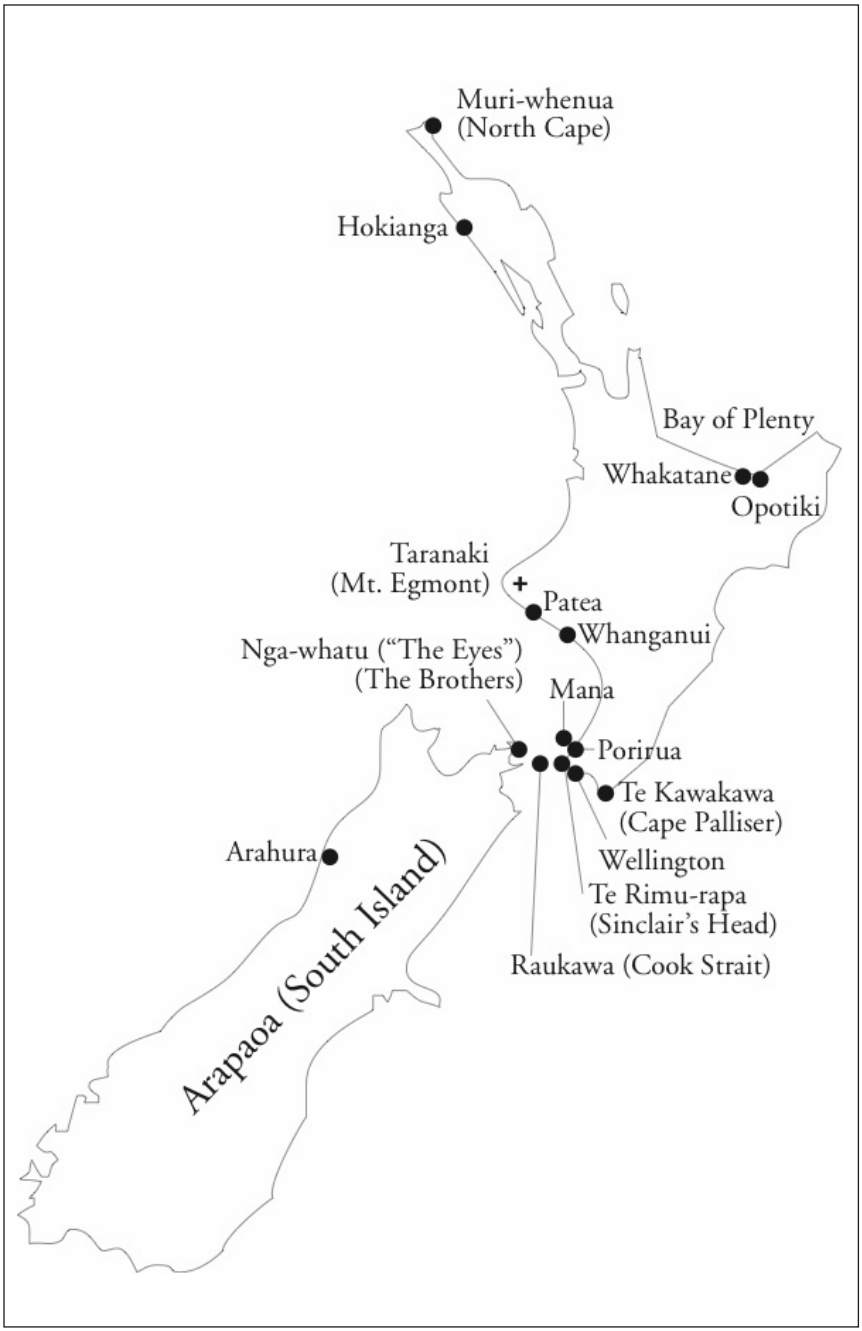
When morning came, the people decided to go fishing again, so the lines and hooks were brought to the priests, who said the proper prayers (karakia) over them. Then the canoes put out to sea. The fishermen now discovered numerous octopi were taking the bait from their lines; they also saw the great octopus of Muturangi floating on the surface of the sea. They realized Muturangi was causing the trouble and fearing him, they all returned to shore.

On arriving they reported what they had seen to Kupe; so Kupe went to Muturangi, who lived at Kahu-kaka, and told him, "O sir! You are the cause of our ill luck!"

Muturangi replied, "I know nothing about your problem."

Kupe then said, "Restrain your great octopus; do not let it go to sea. The canoes plan to go out fishing again tomorrow."

Then Kupe returned to his home at Pakaroa and told his people to prepare for fishing the next day, as food was getting scarce. The next



Aotearoa (New Zealand)

morning the fishermen of Pakaroa went out, but the bait was taken again; the great octopus had not altered its conduct. The fishermen returned and reported that the octopus of Muturangi was still there. Kupe again went to the priests. He described the problem and asked the priests what should be done. They replied that they were not powerful enough to overcome the action of the octopus, so Kupe should ask Muturangi himself to stop its doings.

Kupe said, "I intend to slay Muturangi."

The priests replied, "Even if you slay Muturangi, the octopus will still retain its power; it would be better to kill the octopus instead."

Kupe then went to the house of Muturangi, and again complained of the evil conduct of the octopus; "I come to ask you to restrain your pet, or I will kill it."

Muturangi replied, "I will not allow my pet to be killed. The sea is its home; the people are wrong in going there to fish."

"If you will not restrain your pet, I intend to kill it."

"You will fail."

"So be it."

Kupe then returned to Pakaroa, and said to his people, "Prepare my canoe for sea." So the canoe Matahorua was carefully prepared—the washboards at the bow were lashed on; two endpieces were put in place, one at the stern, one at the bow; and two stone anchors were brought from his grandfather, Ue-tupuke, who had charge of them. One of these anchors was a tatara-a-punga (coral) from Maungaroa, a mountain in Rarotonga,[1] and the other was a puwai-kura, a reddish stone like kiripaka (flint) or mata-waiapa (obsidian) from Rangiātea.

After the anchors were placed on board, Kupe went out to slay the octopus. On arrival at the fishing ground named Whakapuaka, the lines were let down. They were hauled up before reaching the bottom, and then it was seen the bait had been eaten. The octopi followed the lines to the surface, where Kupe and the sixty men of the canoe Matahorua began to slaughter them. They continued to do so till night fell, while the great octopus of Muturangi was all the time waiting a little beyond. The body of this octopus was eighteen feet long, while its feelers were thirty feet long when stretched out. Its eyes were the size of the papaua-raupara (a thin, flat shellfish, like the pearl oyster).

After the slaughter had continued for a very long time, Peka-hourangi, one of the principal priests said, "Stop killing the octopi; if you could succeed in killing Muturangi's great octopus, the others would all disappear, for he brings them here, and Muturangi is inciting

them by means of incantations (tuata) to take your bait from the hooks. The fishermen therefore ceased slaying the smaller octopi and turned their attention to Muturangi's octopus. But when the canoes tried to approach the monster, it made off to the deep sea. It was now night, so Kupe returned to shore, while Ngake (or Ngahue) followed the great octopus out to sea in his canoe, Tawhiri-rangi. On arrival ashore Kupe said to his men, "Put plenty of provisions on board our canoe, for we will follow this monster until we kill him." The crew did as they were told.

On learning of Kupe's proposal, Hine-i-te-aparangi, his wife, and her daughters, urged Kupe to remain and let his men pursue the octopus, lest he be overtaken by storms at sea and drowned. Kupe was annoyed at this and said, "Stop your wailing; you have prophesied ill luck to me (waitohutia), and it will end perhaps in my death. You must all board the canoe, so there may be one death for us all, and not me alone while you remain lamenting in safety ashore." So his wife and five children consented to accompany Kupe and were with him when he discovered Aotearoa.

Matahorua was now launched and the voyagers departed. There were seventy-two people on board. After a time they reached Tuahiwi-nui-o-Hinemoana,[2] where Kupe overtook Ngake and asked, "Have you seen the octopus?"

Ngake replied, "There! You can see him reddening (mura-haare) on the ripples of the sea." Kupe looked, and it was so. They tried to approach the monster, but to no avail; the octopus only went on faster, directing his course toward this undiscovered island of Aotearoa.

Kupe said to Ngake, "The octopus is headed for some land apparently; by following it we shall be led to a strange country."

Not long after this, an island was seen in the far distance, like a cloud on the horizon, toward which the octopus made straight. As the octopus drew near to Muri-whenua (the North Cape of North Island), it turned south along the East Coast. Kupe now said to Ngake, "Follow our fish; I will land here to rest and then come after you. If the octopus should stop anywhere, let it remain there until I come."

So Ngake continued on in pursuit, while Kupe went on from the North Cape to Hokianga and stayed a while. In the course of his wanderings there in search of food, he came to a place where there was some soft clay (uku-whenua) into which his feet sank and left holes, as did the feet of his dog Tauaru. The clay eventually turned into rock,

and both Kupe's and his dog's footsteps are to be seen there to this day. When Kupe and his children departed from Hokianga, they left the dogs behind because the dogs had wandered off into the forest to hunt birds. The dogs returned to the beach and howled; Kupe heard them, but he used a prayer to prevent them following, and they were at once turned into stone. [Two rocks at the mouth of the Whirinaki river, Hokianga, are still pointed out as Kupe's dogs. Another account of these dogs is that Kupe decided to leave them there as guardians for the land, and he carved out of stone a male and female dog to represent them.]

After a long stay at Hokianga, Kupe sailed after Ngake and found him at Rangi-whakaoma (Castle Point), where Ngake was awaiting him. Ngake informed Kupe that the octopus of Muturangi was there within a cave giving birth to offspring. Kupe proceeded to the cave and broke it open, which caused the octopus to flee in the night towards the south. Kupe and Ngake then gave chase and came to Te Kawakawa (Cape Palliser, the southern point of North Island). This name was given by Kupe because one of his daughters here made a wreath of kawakawa leaves, and the name has ever since remained in memory of it. At this place is a kahawai spring where Kupe kept as provisions the fish of that name.

Near here the sail of the canoe Matahorua was broken, and Kupe, Ngake, and their friends proceeded to make another for the foremast. Kupe said to Ngake, "Which is the best kind of sail, yours or mine?" Hine-waihua, the wife of Ngake, "Ah! Your parent's sail is the best; it can be made quicker; he has the dexterous hand for that kind of work." So they set to work and continued on to daylight, all hands helping to make the sail—Kupe, his elder relatives, and younger brethren. When daylight came, the sail was to be seen hanging up on the cliff, which caused Ngake to say, "I am beaten by my friend." [This enignmatic comment can be explained by the tradition that a competition in sail-making had taken place between Kupe and Ngake.[3]]

Near that spot is also a bathing place of Kupe's daughters, one of whom, Makaro, was menstruating at the time, so the water remains red to this day. There also is a heap of stone, from the top of which Kupe recited his prayer to draw fish up for his daughters, among others, the hapuku, which ordinarily lives in deep water. He was gazing (matakitaki) on the multitude of fish; then raising his eyes, he saw beyond the sea the mountains of the South Island, the snows on Tapuae-nuku ("The lookers-on") in the sun. Hine-uira, one of his daughters, asked Kupe what he was gazing at. He replied, "I was looking at the

shoals of fish coming in; when I lifted up my eyes, I beheld an island lying there."

Hine-uira said, "Let the name of these stones be Matakitaki" ("Gazing"), which remains to this day.

After this they started in pursuit of the octopus, going on to the mouth of Te Whanganui-a-Tara (Port Nicholson), on the west side of which their canoes landed. Here Kupe went for a bath, and afterwards stretched himself out on a rock to dry himself in the sun, where he scratched himself, hence that place was ever after called "Te Aroaro o Kupe" (i.e., "Te Ure-o-Kupe," "The penis of Kupe"—the rock on Barrett's Reef at the entrance of Wellington Harbor).

From there, after going to Hataitai (Miramar Peninsula) they went on to Owhariu (Ohariu, west of Wellington, on Cook Strait) where the sails of Matahorua were hung up to dry, hence the name of that place. (Owhariu means "to turn aside.")

The two islands in Te Whanganui-a-Tara, named Matiu (Some's Island) and Makaro (Ward's Island), were named after two of Kupe's daughters to commemorate their visit to these islands. (The two islands are in Wellington Harbor.) Kupe approved of the names. When they arrived at Te Rimu-rapa (Sinclair's Head), they proceeded to gather paua (Haliotis), shellfish, and other kinds of seafood, and there dried them, as provisions for their voyage. Then they got some large seaweed, and made receptacles for these provisions, so that the food would not be spoiled by dampness. Hence that place was named Rimu-rapa ("seaweed flattened"; bull-kelp is still used as bags for preserving birds, especially mutton birds.)[4]

They found Te Rimu-rapa a very disagreeable place because of the wind, so proceeded north to Porirua Harbor, where Mata-horua was anchored. Here, on the east side of the harbor, near the mouth, Kupe saw a stone which he at once desired as an anchor for the canoe; it was a kowhatu-hukātai (a white stone, probably volcanic). His daughters also had the same wish because of its excellence.[5] The new anchor was named Hukatai (also Hukamoa).

Ngake now said to Kupe it was time they went after their enemy. So they left and went to Mana Island, where Kupe left his wife and his daughters for a while. Mohuia, one of Kupe's daughters said, "Let this name, Mana, be retained for this island, in remembrance of our power and daring (mana) in crossing the ocean. Kupe gave his consent to this naming, saying, "Yes! it is well, Mana shall be its name."

After leaving his family there, Kupe and Ngake made a straight

course for Te Wai-pounamu (South Island), and when they drew near it, they saw the octopus of Muturangi approaching their canoes. The two canoes of Kupe and Ngake separated to allow the octopus to pass between them, which it did, the head rushing forward drawing its tentacles behind, which spread out even beyond the canoes. From head to the end of its tentacles, it was two hundred and forty feet long, while the body was twenty four feet wide. Tohirangi stood up in the center of Kupe's canoe with a long spear and lunged at the monster. He speared it twice, and when it felt the pain, it stretched out its tentacles to break the spear of Ngake, who was using his spear from the other canoe. The two spears crossed, and the tentacles of the octopus seized hold of the gunwale of Ngake's canoe, Tawhiri-kura, from bow to stern, which so frightened the men on board that the canoe was nearly upset. Then the tentacles seized hold of Kupe's canoe, and Kupe took his axe named Ranga-tu-whenua and began chopping off the tentacles; but the octopus would not let go. Kupe then shouted to Po-heuea, "Throw the bunch of calabashes at the head of the octopus!" This was done, and the monster, thinking perhaps that it was a man, let go the canoe, and encircled the calabashes with all his tentacles. Then with his axe Ranga-tu-whenua, Kupe made a fierce downward blow (paoa) at the head of the monster and smashed in its eyes. And so died this great sea creature, the "Wheke-o-Muturangi."

Now from this incident came the name of the South Island Ara-paoa, from Kupe's paoa, or downward blow, on the head of the octopus. The rocks Nga-whatu ("The Brothers" in Cook Strait) became tapu, for that is the place where the Wheke-o-Mururangi was laid to rest. An incantation (karakia) was said to conceal the octopus lest Muturangi should come in search of his pet and revive it. Immediately after the incantation ended, swirling currents began around the rocks, so that no canoe could land there. The name of these rocks, Nga-whatu, refers to the eyes (whatu) of the octopus, and the spot has remained tapu ever since. When canoes cross the Straits to or from Ara-paoa, the priests say, "Do not look on Nga-whatu; cover the eyes with a shade, lest, looking, a gale of wind comes on and the canoes will be capsized." This is the rule even to this day.

Now the above story explains why Kupe, Ngake, and their companions crossed the wide ocean and discovered this country of Aotea-roa.[6] How great was the mana (power, ability, prestige, etc.) of Kupe to accomplish this undertaking! Hence it was that his daughters wished to emphasize this mana by naming the island on which they

stayed Mana, in honor of their father Kupe. The name of Porirua harbor is derived from the fact that the voyagers left their old anchor there and replaced it with a new one named Huka-moa (or Huka-tai). ("Pori" refers to the exchange of one anchor for another.)

Now after these events Kupe proceeded to the southern island to determine its resources, and to see whether or not any people were living there; he also intended to do the same as regards to the northern sland. He went down the west coast of the southern island until he reached Arahura River (a few miles north of Hokitika, a town on the west coast). He gave the river that name because he went to search out whether any people were to be found there. [Ara-hura, "the way opened up"].

Kupe was the first man to discover the valuable pounamu, or green stone, in Aotearoa. The first specimen he saw was that kind called inanga, so named because it was seen in a river together with many inanga, or white-bait, which he proceeded to net. When Hine-te-uira-i-waho stretched forth her hand into the water to get a stone as a sinker for the bottom of the net, the one she got was quite different from any she had seen before, and so it was called inanga.[7]

Kupe's canoes then proceeded farther to the south, and finally reached the tail-end of the southern island, where Kupe said to Hine-waihua, the wife of Ngake, "O Hua! Leave your pets here to dwell at this end of the island, for behold there are no men here." So the seals and the penguins were left to guard that end of Arapaoa, which is now called "Te Wai-pounamu." It is well known that the proper salutation to the people of the South Island is "Welcome ye people of Arapaoa"—and Ngati-Tahu of the South Island welcomes us by saying, "Welcome ye people of the sunrise." Nowhere did Kupe or Ngake see any people on either the southern or northern island.

On Kupe's return to the northern island he went by way of the west coast to Hokianga. When he was off Whanganui he saw a very fine bay there,[8] and so decided to land to inspect it. On entering the bay, the canoes landed on the west side and stayed a while. This place at the mouth of Whanganui, he named Kaihau-o-Kupe ("Kupe's wind-eating"), because it was very windy while they were there.

Kupe paddled up the Whanganui River to see if any people lived there; he went as far as Kau-arapawa, so called by him because his servant tried to swim the river there to obtain some korau, or wild

cabbage, and was drowned, for the river was in flood. So Pawa was drowned, and his name was applied to that place. (Kau-arapawa is about fifteen miles above the town of Whanganui.) Kupe heard some voices there, but as soon as he found these voices were only from birds (weka, kokako and tiwaiwaka), he returned to the mouth of the river, and then went on to Patea, where he planted some karaka seed of the species called oturu.[9] While at Patea he tested the soil by smelling it, and found it to be para-umu—a rich black soil—and sweet-scented.

When Hine-te-ura, Kupe's daughter, arrived at Hokianga, she said to him, "O Sir! let us take possession of this land," to which both Kupe and Ngake consented. Then a feast (hakari) was made by his daughters at a place between Te Kerikeri and Whangaroa. At the end of the feast, Kupe, Ngake, and all their people proceeded to place the land under tapu ("uruuru whenua"; usually refers to "placating local gods"), prior to their return to Rarotonga, Rangiātea and Hawaiki. The stone of the uruuru-tapu is at the head waters of Hokianga, and is named Tama-haere, sometimes called Toka-haere; it is still very tapu. The feast was held at the place usually called Tarata-rotorua, where certain natural pillars of rock are said to have been the posts that held up the food at the feast. Hokianga means "Returning" in reference to the place from which Kupe left the island to return home.

Now, it must be clearly understood there were no people anywhere on these islands—not a single one. And Kupe left only his two dogs, named Tauaru, the male, and Hurunui, the female; none of their party remained here; everyone returned to Rarotonga.

After Kupe and Ngake returned to Rarotonga they went on to Rangiātea (Ra'iātea) and from thence to Hawaiki (Tahiti, though other sources say that Hawaiki was the ancient name of Ra'iātea). They reported their discovery: "There is a distant land, cloud-capped, with plenty of moisture, and a sweet-scented soil. It is situated at "Tiritiri-o-te moana" ("The vast space of ocean"?). When the people heard of the newly discovered lands, they desired to come here because a great number of quarrels had arisen among themselves in their homeland.

When Kupe reached Rangiātea, Nga-Toto (or Toto) asked him, "O Kupe! What does the land you have discovered look like? Is it raupapa (flat land) or tua-rangaranga (undulating?) Is the soil one-tai (sandy), or one-matua (rich, fertile)?"

Kupe replied, "In the center part are mountain ranges (tuatua); the spurs that come down to the sea are sheltered, and plains open out on

both the east and west coasts. On the southern island, the ranges that come down to the sea on the west coast, have pakihi (flats, usually grassy) opening out here and there. The east coast is fertile and fine to look on. The soil is good, it is one-paraumu (rich, black soil); in some places it is one-papa-tihore, (i.e., subject to land slides), but the growth of plants is healthy and vigorous."

Other people asked, "O Kupe! What do the seas and the streams contain?" He replied, "There are fish both in the sea and inland; paua (Haliotis), mussels, and cockles thrive along the shores of the ocean."

Others asked, "What is the course the canoe should steer, O Kupe?" To which he replied, "Let it be to the right of the setting sun, or the moon, or Venus. Go during Orongo-nui (summer), in the month of Tatauuru-ora [November] when food is plenty."[10]

Turi then asked, "Which is the very best part of the land?" Kupe replied, "Leave the course in the current of Pareweranui (the strong south wind); there is a place of much 'fruit of the land' (i.e., birds, fish, and so on). (The narrative is obscure here, but we know that Kupe directed Turi to come to Patea River on the west coast of the north island).

Others asked, "Did you see any people on the land?" Kupe replied, "I saw no one; what I did see was a kokako, a tiwaiwaka, and a weka (i.e., birds), whistling away in the gullies; kokako was ko-ing on the ridges, and tiwaiwaka was flitting about before my face."[11]

Now Kupe and Ngake stayed a long time at Rangiātea and then went on to Hawaiki (Tahiti). They went there at the request of Ruawharo (a son of Hau, a nephew of Kupe who came to New Zealand in the Takitimu, says the Scribe). Ruawharo came to ask them to go to Hawaiki in order that the people living there might hear their account of the new land discovered by them at Tiritiri-o-te-moana.

On leaving Hawaiki they returned to Rangiātea where Kupe found Turi, who had married Rongorongo, the daughter of Toto (Sometimes called Nga-Toto). Turi did not sail for the newly discovered island at the time Kupe returned from his voyage, as is sometimes claimed; Turi was dwelling at Rangiātea, having fled from Hawaiki because he had committed adultery with Korahi, the wife of Taurangi-tahi. She was the elder sister of Moana-waiwai, the second wife of Tomo-whare. (This statement bears out what I learnt in Tahiti, with this difference, that Turi fled from Hitia'a on the east coast of Tahiti because of the jealousy of one of his wives; he went to Rai'ātea.) Korahi was a wahine-kahurangi [or ariki], whose husband was Ao-marama.

Turi was followed to Rangiātea by those who wanted to kill him, but he fled. The reason, however, that he fled to this country (New Zealand) was the killing of Awe-potiki.[12]

When Kupe and Turi met, the latter asked, "Where is the best part of the island according to what you saw?" Kupe replied, "The west coast. There is my karaka-huarua (i.e., the karaka-oturu, planted by Kupe; see note 9). It is growing at the mouth of a river opening to the west, facing the southwest wind (uru o Tahu-makaka-nui). You will see a certain snow-clad mountain standing near the sea (Taranaki, or Mount Egmont). Direct your canoe to Tahu-para-wera-nui (to the south of this mountain) and you will see the best place to settle."

Turi now said to his wife and said, "O Wife! If you had a canoe, we could go to this unoccupied land and make a home there."

Rongorongo replied, "Who would want to live in a lonely place like that?"

But Turi did not cease to dwell on the idea of migration, constantly talking about it. At last Rongorongo spoke to her father Toto about it. Toto replied, "It is well; here is a canoe." And so a canoe was given to Rongorongo to give to Turi. Toto said to Turi, "When you depart, and after you have arrived at Tiritiri-o-te-whenua on the ocean—if you find the land is bountiful, come back and fetch us all together with your brothers-in-law." Turi consented.

Rongorongo was pregnant with her first born at that time. So Turi did not start for a long time, not until his three children were born—Turanga-i-mua, Taneroa and Tonga-potiki. When he was ready to go, Turi said to Kupe, "O Kupe! Let us both go to the land you have told us about." But Kupe replied, "Kupe will not return."[13]

It must be clearly understood: Kupe and Turi did not meet at sea or anywhere else, but only at Rangiātea. The stories of other meetings are false [i.e., tahora, not told in the Whare-wananga].

Shortly after Kupe returned from Hawaiki to Rangiātea, Rongorongo's first child was born, and Kupe said, "Let the name of the child be Turanga-i-mua; to signify my being the first to stand on Aotea-roa." (Turanga, "standing"; i mua, "ahead"). Now for the first time the name Aotea-roa given by Kupe to the islands he discovered became known. Nga-Toto said, "O Turi! Let that also be a name for the canoe of our daughter." Kupe said, "It is well," and so the name "Aotea" was given to Rongorongo's canoe, replacing the old one.[14]

Notes

This version of the story of Kupe was published in *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, Vol. 4, 1913, pp. 118-133. It is "Part II. Te Kawae-raro, or 'Things Terrestial'" of *The Lore of the Whare-wānanga*, told by Te Matorohanga, recorded by H.T. Whatahoro, and translated by S. Percy Smith. The story begins, "The Sage of the whare-wananga said to the assembled people in 1861, 'I will commence my narration by starting from the period of Kupe.…' Whare-wānanga are houses of sacred learning.

From Smith's Notes: "There is a strong probability that there existed two men by the name of Kupe. [See *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, Vol. 16, 1907, pp. 155-173 for a discussion.] I do not propose to inflict on our readers a further series of long genealogical tables, for it is only to those who are engaged in such studies that have any interest in them—all important as they are for historical purposes, for without them we could never arrive at any dates whatever in Polynesian Prehistory, and without dates history is useless. [Only to Westerners; the Polynesians counted by generations of people rather than by numbers of years.—D.K.] Suffice it to say, that with all the number of tables of Kupe's genealogy before me, I find they group themselves into two divisions:

"One series has a mean of thirty-nine generation, or say, the year 925 A.D.; another of twenty-four generations, or say, the year 1300.

"We will for the moment turn our attention to the approximate date of 925, and endeavour to learn something of the localities and doings of the people at that period. From my book *Hawaiki*, it will be learnt that this was the period when the second great extension of Polynesian voyages commenced, the headquarters of the Tonga-hiti branch (which includes Maoris, Rarotongans, and Tahitians, etc.) was in Fiji, but Tahiti had at that time already received the first installment of its population. During the two centuries subsequent to 950, voyages were very frequent to all parts of the Pacific—from Hawai'i to New Zealand, from Indonesia to Easter Island. This may be seen at a glance by referring to *Hawaiki* (3rd edition, p. 171), where a long list of islands discovered or visited at this time is shown, as derived from the Rarotonga records. Among these islands is Avaiki-tautau, which the Rarotongan learned men hold to be New Zealand.

"Whether Kupe was one of this band of navigators, it is impossible to say with certainty; but probability seems to point to his being

identical with Te Aratanga-nuku, the famous Rarotongan voyager, who flourished, according to the Rarotongan tables, thirty-seven generations ago, and therefore only two generations after the date we have assigned to the first Kupe. [For the story of Te Aratanga-nuku, see the notes to "Tangiia and Tutapu" in this collection.]

"With regard to the second Kupe, we shall hear a great deal about him as this narrative progresses; and, as I hold, the two men have frequently been confused. Twenty-four generations back from the year 1900 will bring us to the year 1300, or two generations before the great migration of "The Fleet" sailed from Tahiti for New Zealand, and thus his various conversations with Turi of the Aotea canoe, who came at the same time as the Fleet will be explained. What seems to me, however, as a strong proof of there having been a former Kupe is the fact that Toi-te-huatahi who lived several generations before the second Kupe, actually made use of Kupe's sailing directions to find his way to New Zealand.

"We shall also see that in Toi's time, the original Tangata-whenua, who are said to have arrived after the discovery of New Zealand by Kupe, had had time to so increase from the crews of a few canoes that their occupation of the country extended from Taranaki along the West Coast as far as the North Cape, and along the East Coast as far as O-potiki in the Bay of Plenty; and, even allowing for exaggerations, they were very numerous indeed. They could not have thus become so numerous if the country had heen discovered by the second Kupe; and must have been here ages before Toi arrived. It is repeatedly said in the accounts of Kupe's voyages that he found no living man in these islands, though as the story says, he frequently searched for signs of human habitation.

"We must bear in mind then, that this narrative (to my mind at least) has confused the doings of the two Kupes. It has occurred to me that the second Kupe, while he did come to New Zealand to search for a certain man named Tuputupu-whenua (as some accounts say), did not do more than sail along the West Coast of the North Island, and did not explore the South Island at all. This would agree with some of the narratives. The Sage's account takes his hero all round both islands.

"I will leave the reader to draw his own conclusions as to the story of the "Wheke-a-Muturangi"; and merely remind him that it has been pointed out that the probable inducement to Kupe to undertake the long voyage from Tahiti to New Zealand, was the flight of the Kohoperoa, or long-tailed Cuckoo, which an observant people like the Maori, on

seeing this bird coming year after year from the Southwest, and well knowing that it was a land bird, would immediately conclude that land of considerable size lay in that direction."

[See Elsdon Best, *The Maori* (1924, pp. 40-56) and Peter Buck, *Vikings of the Sunrise* (1938, pp. 277-283) for descriptions of the various migrations from Hawaiki to Aotearoa. The general sequence of migration dates and events include the following:

About 40 generations before 1900 (around 900 A.D.), Kupe and Ngake (Ngahue) discovered large, uninhabited islands to the south and named them Aotearoa. They returned to Hawaiki with their crews, leaving behind only two dogs.

After this time, other people arrived in three canoes—Kahutara, Taikoria, and Okoki, having been swept away from their homeland while they were on a fishing expedition. The canoes made landfall on the Taranaki Coast (west side of the North Island) and the people stayed there. They are the Tangata-whenua ("people of the land") refered to by Smith above; Best says they were called Pakiwhara or Mouriuri by the Maori, who settled Aotearoa later.

About 28 generations from 1900 (around 1200 A.D.) a number of canoes were blown out beyond the sight of land during an offshore canoe race in Hawaiki. Toi, the grandfather of Whatonga, one of the men lost, went in search of him in a canoe called Te Paepae-ki-Rarotonga. Toi landed at Sāmoa and Rarotonga in search of his grandson. He then made the Chatham Islands (400 miles east of Aotearoa) and finally landed and settled at Whakatane on Bay of Plenty (on the east coast of North Island). Meanwhile, Whatonga, his grandson, had made his way back to Hawaiki and, learning that his grandfather had gone in search of him, left in search of his grandfather. Whatonga's canoe was named Kurahaupo ("Lunar halo") since the ariki of Hawaiki told him to send a lunar halo as a sign of his successful search. Whatonga stopped in Rarotonga, then made landfall at North Cape on Aotearoa. He travelled down the west coast, learned that Toi, his grandfather, was at Whakatane, and finally met up with Toi and settled there.

Around the same time that Whatonga came to Aotearoa in Kurahaupo, Manaia also arrived in the canoe Tokomaru. He had fought with Nuku in Hawaiki and had fled after having lost the war. Nuku pursued him in three canoes (Te Houama, Waimate, and Tangi-apakura) to avenge the death of a brother. Manaia and Nuku fought a sea battle

in Raukawa (Cook Strait); after a stormy night at sea (the storm was caused by the magic of Manaia), the two parties landed and made peace. Manaia proceeded to Taranaki on the west coast and settled there; Nuku returned to Hawaiki.

About 24 generations from 1900 (around 1300 A.D.), more conflicts in Hawaiki led to the migration of more canoes to Aotearoa. The names of the chiefs and canoes that came to Aotearoa in the heke ("Great Fleet") are recorded in tradition:

Hoturoa came in Tainui
Tama-te-kapua came in Arawa
Toroa came in Mataatua
Tamatea came in Takitumu
Porou-rangi came in Horouta
Turi came in Aotea

Peter Buck writes: "The newcomers came in conflict with the first settlers and with the descendants of Toi. After many wars, the earlier settlers were absorbed into the more dominant groups of the later comers. The Maori people are grouped into tribes, which trace their descent and take their names from ancestors who came in the various canoes of the fourteenth century migration" (278-9). Buck's mother traced her ancestry to those arriving on the Tokomaru canoe.]

1. From Smith's Notes: "I don't know of a Maungaroa in Rarotonga. Maunganui is a beautifully wooded mountain just behind Tereora school at the north-west end of Rarotonga island."

2. From Smith's Notes: "The great ridge of Hine-moana (Lady of the Ocean) I take to be an expression for the deep, wide ocean—perhaps midway of the voyage, where the trade wind is met by the prevailing westerly winds."

3. From Smith's Notes: "There is some portion of the narrative apparently left out here by the scribe, for we learn from other sources that it was a trial of skill between Kupe and Ngake as to who should first complete a sail—hence Ngake's words."

[The story of this contest is told in "Chapter III. Kupe—the Navigator" in "The History and Traditions of the Taranaki Coast," *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, Vol. 16, 1907; p. 156: "The name

of two triangular patches of light-coloured cliff showing against the green vegetation a few miles to the west of Cape Palliser is called Nga-rā-o-Kupe, The sails of Kupe. The story connected with this is that Kupe and his companion Ngake were camped here on one occassion, when a contention arose as to who could succeed in first completing a canoe sail (rā). So each started to work in the evening to make a sail; Kupe finished his a little after midnight, whilst Ngake did not complete his until dawn. Thus Kupe won. The sails were then hung up against the cliffs, 'and may be seen there to this day' says my informant." This account of the tradition of Kupe lists 27 place names associated with him, and explains the significance of each name. Some of the explanations differ from the explanations given in the version of the story of Kupe in this collection.]

4. From Smith's Notes: "My informant tells me that kelp was used for carrying freshwater on their voyages as well. It was turned inside out with sticks, and formed waterproof bags of considerable size for carrying water. At night these bags were trailed overboard with a stone attached to keep the water deliciously cool."

5. From Smith's Notes: "The anchor brought from Maungaroa in Rarotonga was left at Porirua. This stone anchor is now in the Dominion Museum, Wellington."

6. Other versions of the Kupe story give different reasons for Kupe's voyage which led to the discovery of Aotearoa. In "Hau and Wairaka: The Adventures of Kupe and his Relatives" (*Journal of the Polynesian Society*, Vol. 36: 1927, p. 264), Elsdon Best writes: "Now Kupe's task was the pursuit and slaying of Wheke, the octopus. The origin of that striving of Kupe against Wheke was that Wheke had killed Punaraku, the daughter of Kupe, who went to bathe at the Wai o Rongo, a place on Rarotonga, when the subject of Muturangi [i.e., the Wheke] carried her off to Taiwhetuki [the house of death]. Such was the cause of the anger of Kupe and his relatives, such was the reason why he engaged in the pursuit. The octopus of Muturangi perished at Tuahiwi nui o Moko, in the expanse of Raukawa (Cook Strait), where it was bewitched by Kupe and his nephew, Mahakiroa, as it was going spouting across the sea."

The story collected by Sir George Grey (*Legends of Aotearoa,* 1988, originally published in 1855 as *Polynesian Mythology and Ancient*

Traditional History of the New Zealand Race) says Kupe left Rarotonga after he had stolen the wife of Hoturapa: …"to escape the vengeance of the relations of Hoturapa, he fled away with her on the ocean in her canoe Matahorua and discovered the islands of New Zealand; they coasted entirely round the islands without finding any inhabitants" (129). Kupe encountered a great squid, which he named "Te Wheke a Muturangi," near Castle Point in Raukawa and slew it in the Tory Channel.

In the version collected by Grey, as in the version told by Te Matorohanga and translated by Percy Smith, Kupe returned to Hawaiki and directed Turi to the newly discovered islands of Aotearoa.

7. From Smith's Notes: "It is sometimes falsely said that pounamu can be found on the northern island. It cannot. This pounamu is the whatu-kaiponu of this land ("the treasured, coveted stone"), and it is so called as a much desired property for the kahurangi (high-class chieftainess, usually the first-born daughter of aristocratic parents) and for the high-born chiefs—no low-born person is entitled to use it."

8. From Smith's Notes: "This agrees with local tradition, to the effect that in former times the sea came up to the present town of Whanganui and formed a deep bay, which has since been filled up by the river."

9. From Smith's Notes: "The karaka-oturu is described to me as like the ordinary karaka (Corynocarpus levigata), but with smaller leaves and berries and fewer of them, with a low growth. There are some trees of the same species growing at Nuhaka, Hawkes Bay, the seed of which is said to have been brought here by the Kura-haupo canoe, under Whatonga. If this karaka at Patea bore a few fruit on the west side of the tree it denoted a lean year—if on the east, or inland side, it meant a prolific year for all cultivated foods. The Rev. T. G. Hammond, who knows Patea and its history better than any man, does not recognize this tree. It is also related of Turi, who commanded the Aotea canoe, and who settled down at Patea, that he brought the karaka tree with him."

10. From Smith's Notes: "The sun sets about S.W. by W. in the end of November in New Zealand, and that is almost the exact course from Rarotonga, which was always the starting point for Polynesian migrations to Aotearoa."

[A more accurate direction would be to the left of the setting sun. The famous tradition of the best season for sailing to Aotearoa being when the Pohutukawa trees are in bloom (i.e., November) appears, among other places, in "The Emigration of Turi" in Sir George Grey's *Legends of Aotearoa* (Hamilton, NZ: Silver Fern Books, 1988, originally published in 1855 as *Polynesian Mythology and Ancient Traditional History of the New Zealand Race*, p. 135). Aside from the fact that in late spring, food would begin to be available and crops could be planted, Ben Finney gives another important reason for sailing from east Polynesia to Aotearoa during this season: "…there are periods during the late spring and summer (roughly November to February) when high pressure systems dominate the approaches to Aotearoa rather than low pressure ones.…bringing warm, easterly winds along their northern… flanks…" ("Voyaging into Polynesia's Past" in *From Sea to Space*, Palmerston North, NZ: Massey University, 1992, p. 38). These are the best winds for sailing the route; the Polynesian Voyaging Society's canoe *Hōkūleʻa* sailed this traditional migration route in 1986 in the right season, late spring; the Pohutukawa trees were in bloom, prompting Maori Hector Busby, who is leading a revival of Maori canoe building, sailing, and navigation, to note that when he was a young boy, his elders told him "when those flowers [Pohutukawa] bloom is the time our ancestors came here from Hawaiki" (Finney 43).

[There are several versions of the directions given by Kupe. In the story collected by Grey, Kupe deceives Turi by telling him "keep ever steering to the eastward, where the sun rises" (131); in "Hau and Wairaka: The Adventures of Kupe and his Relatives," collected by Elsdon Best (*Journal of the Polynesian Society*, Vol. 36, 1927), Kupe's directions are reported as "Let [the vessel's prow] be directed to the left of the rising sun and until it is well up the heavens, and so continue until the Pleiades rise above the ocean surge, that you may reach land" (266). How Turi got to Aotearoa from central Polynesia with these wrong directions is not clear. Smith argues that the original Kupe came from Samoa or Fiji, and sailed east to central Polynesia using these directions ("Chapter III. Kupe—the Navigator" in "The History and Traditions of the Taranaki Coast," *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, Vol. 16, 1907; p. 171).

[In "Te Kauwae-raro" (*Journal of the Polynesian Society*, Vol. 23, 1914) Kupe's directions are given as "Leave the Sun, the Moon, and Venus on the right hand, a little southwesterly, lay the bows" (209). This direction is the most accurate (i.e., left of the setting sun at the southern

hemisphere summer solstice, or SW by W; the positions of the sun, moon, and Venus change over time, so information about seasons and years of travel is needed for directions using these celestial bodies).

[Another tradition mentions Rehua (which is usually identified as Antares in the constellation Scorpio) as the guiding star to Aotearoa. ("Chapter III. Kupe—the Navigator" in "The History and Traditions of the Taranaki Coast," *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, Vol. 16, 1907; p. 164). This star rises and sets in the same general direction as the sun in November-December.]

11. From Smith's Notes: "A question was here asked of the Sage, 'Some say that Kupe's daughters and others remained here, as also some from Ngake's canoe.' The Sage replied, 'No one remained here. Kupe and Ngake returned with all their wives, children and friends.'

"Another question was asked, 'O Sir! how is it then that some of us descend from Kupe and his children? [i.e., the children left in Aotearoa by Kupe?]' To this the Sage replied, 'There is no reliance to be placed on (some) genealogies, because, in different cases they state two, three, or four generations before the migration took place to Aotea-roa.' (That is, explains the Scribe, the migration of Toi, who flourished thirty-one generations ago, and of his grandson Whatonga and others.) At that time his descendants had all married. His sons had married before he came to Aotea-roa.' (The sage's answer is so important, and at the same time somewhat obscure, that I give it in the original. 'Ka mea mai ia, kaore he tikanga mo nga whakapapa, no te mea; e rua rawa nga whakatipuranga, e toru o etehi, e wha o etehi, katahi auo ka haere mai te heke nui tonu ki Aotea-roa nei. Kati, kua moemoe noa atu ona uri i te tane i tena wa; nga mea kane kua moe wahine i taua wa i mua atu i te haerenga mai o Kupe ki Aotea-roa nei.') [Smith's note is not clear on this point. The sage seems to be saying that Kupe's children were all married and had children in Hawaiki before the migrations to New Zealand began, the first one being by Toi and his followers.—D.K.]

12. From Smith's Notes: "Potikiroroa, a young relation of Turi's, was killed by Uenuku, an ariki of Hawaiki, because the little boy fell down at the doorway of Uenuku's house while delivering Uenuku's share of a burnt-offering to the gods. The falling was considered an unlucky omen. In retaliation, Turi killed Uenuku's son Awepotiki (Hawepoitiki), ate the corpse, and baked the heart and sent it as a food offering to Uenuku, who consumed it. Uenuku was told what he had

eaten and swore revenge, but before Uenuku could take revenge, Turi fled to Aotearoa."

13. One version of Kupe's answer to Turi's question is a question: E hoki Kupe? "Will Kupe return?"; "Kupe will not return" doesn't have the emotional ambiguity of the question.

14. For a version of the story of Turi's migration to Aotearoa, see Sir George Grey's *Legends of Aotearoa* (Hamilton, NZ: Silver Fern Books, 1988, originally published in 1855 as *Polynesian Mythology and Ancient Traditional History of the New Zealand Race*, pp. 126-137).

Hotu Matua

[The ancestors of the natives of Te Pito O Te Kainga ("A Little Piece of Land", later called Rapanui by other Polynesians and Easter Island by Europeans) came from two places known as Marae Renga and Marae Tohio in a land called Maori ("Land of the Native People"), or Hiva ("Black"; perhaps a reference to the basalt of volcanic islands; a Polynesian name for the Marquesas Islands).]

In Hiva, Hau Maka had a dream in which his spirit traveled to a far country, looking for a new residence for his king Hotu.[1] His spirit arrived at three small islands (Motu Nui, Motu Iti, Motu Kao-kao) and a big hole (the volcanic crater of Rano Kau) on the southwest corner of Te Pito O Te Kainga. The spirit traveled counter-clockwise around the island, naming twenty-eight places including Anakena (an anchorage on the north coast of the island and future residence of the king); Papa o Pea (where young princes would be raised), and Ahu Akapu (where the abdicated king would live). When Hau Maka awoke he told his brother Hua Tava about the dream. The island was the eighth, or last, island in the dim twilight of the rising sun. He named the island "Te Pito O Te Kainga A Hau Maka" ("The Little Piece of Land of Hau Maka"). Hua Tava told his brother to tell king Hotu Matua of the new land.

After hearing about the dream, Hotu Matua ordered Hau Maka to send some young men to explore the island. Hotu Matua told his two sons Ira (the first born) and Raparenga, and Hua Tava's five sons—Kuukuu, Ringiringi, Nonoma, Uure, and Makoi—to build a canoe and search for the island of Hau Maka's dream. He gave them the directions to the island:

i lunga (upwind; i.e., southeastly, into the southeast tradewinds)
e tau (it juts out)
e revareva ro a (as a permanent contour)
i roto i te raa (in the midst of the [rising] sun)

He told them that there were three islets and a big hole, also a long and beautiful road. So the seven men left in a canoe stocked with yams, sweet potatoes, bananas, and other foods. The canoe was named Oraora-ngaru ("Saved from the waves"), or Te Oraora-miro ("The

pieces of milo wood lashed together"). They left on the 25th day of Vaitu Nui (April) and arrived on the 1st day of Maro (June), a voyage of five weeks.[2] The explorers found the three islets and the big hole. They sailed on to Hanga Te Pau, where they landed. Makoi was placed in charge of marking and naming the land. Kuukuu was placed in charge of farming. On the tenth day of Maro (June), they climbed the slopes of Rano Kau. Kuukuu planted the yams. On the fifth day of Anakena (July), the explorers began to go around the island counterclock-wise, starting with the south coast. They followed the footsteps of Hau Maka's dream soul and named the places as Hau Maka had named them. When fish swarmed near shore at Hanga-o-honu (Bay of Turtles, on the north coast), they caught the fish with their hands and tossed them ashore. They cooked and ate the fish there.

When they were near Anakena, Ira saw a turtle and tried to lift it, but it was too heavy for him; Raparenga tried and failed. Kuukuu tried and lifted the turtle off the ground, but it struck him and broke his spine. The turtle, which was a spirit (kuhane), swam back to Hiva. Kuukuu was taken to a nearby cave on the plain of Oromanga. He begged the others not to leave him, but his companions departed after piling six stones outside the cave to take their places and to keep Kuukuu company. Kuukuu died in the cave.

The explorers went to the west side of the island and discovered a surfing spot. They rode a wave to the right and called the place where they landed Hanga Roa; they rode a wave to the left and landed at Apina Iti. They rode a third wave in and landed by Hanga O Rio. They caught more waves, then went ashore and rested in a cave at Pu Pakakina.

Ira sent the other explorers surfing so he and his brother Raparenga could secretly place some stone figures Ira had brought from Hiva. While the others were surfing, Ira set up three stone figures with necklaces of mother-of-pearl shell. The shining necklaces could be seen from the ocean: the shells of Ruhi Hepii when a surfer rode a wave to the right, the shells of Pu when a surfer rode the wave to the left, and the shells of Hinariru when the surfer went straight ahead.

Ira sent Makoi around the island to name places with names from the homeland of Hiva. [Sixty place names are given.] After this was done, Ira taught Makoi string figures and the secret content of the figures.

A man named Nga Tavake, who had preceded the explorers onto the island, then appeared, and the six explorers told him, "This is a bad

land, for when we planted yams, grass grew up instead." Then they all went to the yam plantation planted by Kuukuu and weeded it.

Ira taught the secret of the shells necklaces and directions to his brother Raparenga; Uure overheard their conversation and tricked Ira into giving the secret to his brother Makoi.

Ira, Raparenga, Uure, Nonoma, and Ringiringi left Te Pito O Te Kainga on the twenty-fifth day of Tangaora Uri (October) to return to Hiva. Makoi remained on Te Pito O Te Kainga. As the canoe left, Makoi chanted the directions back to the island: "There are eight islands. Te Pito O Te Kainga is the eighth. Once it has been lost, it cannot be found again! Ruhi to the right, Pu to the left, necklace around the figure of Hinariru at Papa O Rae straight ahead!"[3]

King Hotu Matua ruled Hiva after his father Matua. During Matua's reign, a group of people called the Hanau Eepe came and took one side of the island from the Hanau Momoko, the people whom Matua ruled. Then the Hanau Eepe tried to move the border to gain more territory. They were captured and imprisoned. In the meantime, Matua told his son Hotu Matua to launch a canoe and immigrate to Te Pito O Te Kainga because a rising tide was destroying their land.

Hotu ordered his assistants Teke and Oti to get plants and animals to take with them on their voyage. The two men gathered banana shoots, taro seedlings, sugarcane, yam, sweet potatoes, hau trees, paper mulberry trees, sandalwood trees, toromiro trees, ferns, rushes, yellow roots, tavari plants, moss, and ngaoho plants, along with birds, pigs, and chickens.

Matua reminded Hotu to take along flies as well, since the number of human beings depended on the number of flies. He told Hotu to take the Hanau Eepe prisoners as well to farm the land.

Hotu then ordered his master canoe builder Nuku Kehu to launch the double-hulled canoe that had been built for the voyage. The canoe sailed on the second day of Hora Nui (September) and arrived at the southwest corner of Te Pito O Te Kainga on the fifteenth day of Tangaroa Uri (October)—a six-week voyage.

In the morning, when the explorers awoke [earlier it was said the explorers had returned to Hiva], two canoes were seen approaching the southwestern tip of the island, off Motu Nui. The canoes were bound together into a double canoe, but as they came near the land the lashings which united them were cut. One boat named "Oteka" carried Hotu Matua and his wife, Vakai-a-hiva; the other boat, named "Oua," carried

Hineriru and his wife, Ava Rei Pua.[4]

Raparenga signaled with leaves to the voyagers the following message: "The land is bad; yams won't grow because of the weeds." Hotu Matua told Tuki to signal back that Hiva was also a bad land, as the rising tide of the ocean was ruining it. Raparenga then signaled to the voyagers that if they sailed to the right (east), they should stay way out or they would be pushed into the cliffs.

The two canoes traveled in different directions around the island. Hotu Matua went around the southern and eastern coasts of the island. Five fishing grounds were established through the mana of a man named Honga. Hineriru went around the western and northern coasts of the island; nine fishing grounds were established through the mana of Teke, who had been transferred to that canoe. Hotu wanted to be the first to reach Anakena (an anchorage on the north side of the island, where the royal residence would be established). When he saw the other vessel approaching, he ordered a spell chanted, which made his own boat go fast and Hineriru's go slow. Two more fishing grounds were established near Anakena.

The canoe of Hotu Matua landed first at the cove. A son named Tuu Maheke was born there to Vakai and Hotu Matua. Hineriru was a man of intelligence, and wrote rongo-rongo (native script) on paper he brought with him. Among those who came in the canoes was the ariki (chief) Tuu Ko Ihu, the maker of the wooden images; two of his sons and two grandsons have given their names to four subdivisions of the Miru clan.

On the other canoe, a daughter named Ava Rei Pua Poki was born to Hineriru and Ava Rei Pua (identified as a queen, perhaps the younger sister Hotu Matua). Vaka, "the master in charge of tying the umbilical cord," performed the rite for Tuu Maheke and then for Ava Rei Pua Poki. The canoes were then brought ashore and taken apart so the wood could be used to make houses. After Nuku Keku (the master canoe builder) finished the houses, seedlings were distributed to the settlers. Then Hotu Matua told Teke to take the Hanau Eepe and settle them in a suitable place where they would farm the land. Teke took them to Poike, on the southeastern end of the island, and told them "Settle here, work, and keep peace among yourselves!" Iko ("Insect") was installed as the king of the Hanau Eepe.

Among Hotu Matua's company there was a concealed passenger whose name was Oroi; he was an enemy of Hotu, who had killed some of Hotu's children in Hiva, and had hidden himself on board the

migration canoe. He got on shore at Anakena without anyone having guessed at his presence.

One day the five children of a man named Roro went to bathe at Ovahe (a small cove east of Anakena), and as they lay on a rock in the sea, Oroi came from behind and killed them by thrusting a lobster spine up their anuses and pulling out their intestines.[5]

When the children did not return, the father said to the mother, "Where are the children?"

The mother said, "On the rock."

But when Roro went to look, the rock was covered with water, for it was high tide; by and by when the water went down, he saw the five children were dead.

Roro then told Hotu Matua: "Oroi, that bad man, is here, for he has killed my children.

Now Hotu Matua went to see his adopted daughter Veri Hina, who was married and who lived at Mahatua (past Ovahe on the north coast). Oroi put a noose in his path and tried to catch his foot in it, but Hotu avoided it by stepping to one side.

When he had finished his visit to his adopted daughter, he said to her and her husband, "Follow me and watch above me. If the sooty terns circle high above me, I will live; if the terns dive down on me, I have been killed." As he returned, he saw that the noose was still on the path, and he knew his enemy was hidden behind the rock. Terns circled high above him. This time Hotu Matua intentionally stepped on the noose and fell, and when Oroi came at him with a bone knife, he killed Oroi with a spell—"Spin! Spin! Fall down! Fall down! Die!" Then he called to his adopted daughter and son-in-law to see that Oroi was dead. When, however, they put the corpse in the oven to cook it, it came to life again, so they had to take it over to the other side of the island to an ahu called Oroi, and there the corpse cooked quite satisfactorily, and they ate it.

Hotu Matua lived in Oromanga, in a house called Hare Tupa Tuu. One day when Hotu's first born son Tuu Maheke was fifteen, Rovi, his food preparer, went to catch eel as a side dish (inaki) for sweet potatoes; he stayed away overnight. Tuu Maheke's mother had gone to dig up and cook the sweet potatoes for him. Tuu Maheke began to cry. After a while Hotu Matua got a headache and shouted, "Be quiet, you bastard! You crybaby!" Then he left. When Vakai came home, she noticed the swollen eyes of her son and asked why he was crying. He told her what his father had shouted at him. After cooking the sweet potatoes for her

son, Vakai went to the house of Hotu Matu and told him "Tuu Maheke is not a bastard! You are a bastard! Your real father was Tai A Mahia! Kokiri Tuu Hongohongo was your foster father." Hotu Matua replied, "Why didn't you tell me this back in Hiva, our homeland?"

Hotu Matua moved a short distance away and built a house called Hare Pu Rangi. A month later, Vakai came to live with him. They conceived another boy, named Miru. Hotu moved again and built a house called Hare Moa Viviri; Vakai followed him. Another boy was born, named Tuu A Hotu Iti; then another son was born, named Hotu Iti A Hotu. Hotu moved again, to Hare Moa Tataka, and Vakai followed. Another son was born, named Tuu Rano Kau.

After the last son was born, Hotu and Vakai moved to Te Ngao o Te Honu. Vakai died. Her corpse was carried to Akahanga and buried there. Hotu Matua moved here and there until finally settling at Akahanga. After a year he moved to Rano Kau, where he lived on the south side of the crater, opposite Orongo. His last task was to fit two stones together. Then he went into his house and laid down. His children came and received his final blessings. Then he arose and went to Orongo to announce his death. He looked in the direction of his homeland, Hiva, and called out to his guardian spirits Kuihi and Kuaha: "Let the voice of the rooster of Ariana crow softly. The stem with many roots (i.e., himself) is entering!" Then he fell down and died.

His children carried him on a litter to Akahanga, where he was buried in Hare o Ava. Later his eldest son, Tuu Maheke, cut off the head, dried and cleaned it, painted it yellow, wrapped it in tapa, and hid it in a stone crevice. A man named Ure Honu found the skull while weeding his banana plantation. A rat (Hotu Matua's spirit) had led him to the hole where the skull was hidden.

When Ure Honu built a new house at Vai Mata, he hung the skull in it. At the feast for the new house, King Tuu Ko Ihu saw the skull and exclaimed: "Here are the teeth that ate turtles and pigs in Hiva!" He stole the skull and buried it under a stone near his house. Ure Honu discovered the theft; his foster son told him who had stolen it. Angry, Ure Honu gathered his men and went to the King's house. They tore down a wall looking for the skull, but found nothing. They searched outside, digging up the ground. The king was sitting on the stone under which the skull was buried. Ure Honu's men lifted the king off the stone, looked under it, and found the skull. Ure Honu was satisfied and took the skull back home.

Notes

This story of Hotu Matua is summarized from a version published in Thomas S. Barthel's *The Eighth Land: The Polynesian Settlement of Easter Island* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii 1978; originally published in German in 1974). The story is much more detailed than here presented. Other versions are found in W.J. Thomson's "Te Pito Te Henua, or Easter Island" in *Report of the United States National Museum 1889* (Washington D.C.: 1891, pp. 447-552); Katherine Routledge's *The Mystery of Easter Island* (London: 1919; pp. 277-280); and Alfred Metraux's *Ethnology of Easter Island* (Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press, 1971, pp. 55-75; originally published in 1940).

1. Hau Maka had tattooed Hotu, and had "received from him in return a present of mother-of-pearl which had been given to Hotu's father by an individual called Tuhu-patoea. Tuhu had seen that the men who went down to get pearls were eaten by a big fish, so he invented a net by which the precious shell could be obtained without risk, and the pearl so procured he had presented to his chief, Ko Riri." (Routledge 277-8). Routledge gives a different reason for the migration: on Hiva, at the death of the chief Ko Riu-i-ka-atea, "a struggle for supremacy arose between his two sons, Ko Te Ira-kaatea and Hotu Matua, in which Hotu was defeated" (277).

2. During May, in the southern hemisphere winter, westerlies blow 32-33 percent of the time, allowing sailing canoes to travel in an easterly direction.

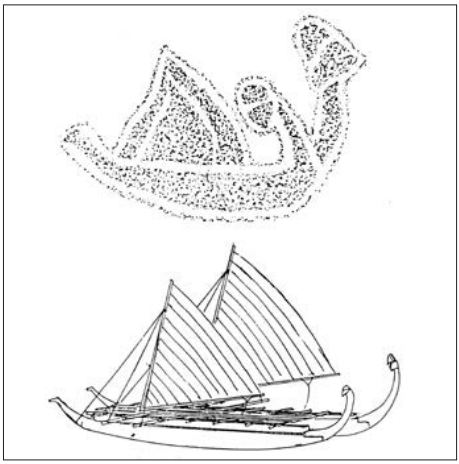
3. According to Barthel, the ornaments may represent star bearings back to the homeland. Or the figures could be markings used for backsighting when leaving the islands; or markings used as alignments for safe entry into the bay (96).

4. These two groups later came into conflict; "the short ears," descended from Hotu Matua and Vakai-a-hiva, settled the western end of the island; "the long ears," descended from Hineriru and Ava Rei Pua, settled the eastern end of the island (Routledge 281).

5. The passage in Barthel's *The eighth land: the Polynesian*

discovery and settlement of Easter Island is as follows: King Hotu arrived and asked, ‘‘How were these young men killed?’’ The voices of the protective spirits (atua akuaku) of Hotu, namely Kuihi and Kuaha, replied, ‘‘Oroi introduced the long, sharp antennae of the spiny lobster (vaero ura) (into the orifice) and then pulled out the intestines completely and left them hanging (out). This is how the victims (ika) were killed’’ (190).

A similar method of torturous killing was reported in Hiva (the Marquesas) by E.S.C. Handy in *The Native Culture in the Marquesas* (Bishop Museum, 1923). Handy reports that the kenae (a tree with a prickly bough) was used, which I imagine is similar to the antennae of a spiny lobster. See pages 138-139, “Torture of Captives.



Top: Petroglyph of a canoe found at Orongo on Rapanui; ***bottom***: Hawaiian artist and Polynesian Voyaging Society co-founder Herb Kawainui Kane’s rendition of what the canoe may have looked like.

Appendix

The Discovery and Settlement of Polynesia

Dennis Kawaharada

Note: The following essay was posted in 1999 at the Polynesian Voyaging Society website; it was reprinted in *Mains'l Haul, A Journal of Pacific Maritime History*, Vol. 18, 2023 ("Traditional Pacific Voyaging), Maritime Museum of San Diego.

Exploration and Discovery

In the 19th century, Hawaiian scholars Kamakau and Kepelino attributed the discovery of Hawai'i to a fisherman named Hawai'iloa. He is said to have discovered the islands during a long fishing trip from a homeland in the west called Ka 'Aina kai melemele a Kane ("Land of the yellow sea of Kane"); the Big Island was named after him while Kaua'i, O'ahu, and Maui were named after his children. Hawai'iloa's navigator, Makali'i, steered in the direction of Iao, the Eastern Star, and hoku'ula, the red star (perhaps the rising Aldebaran in the constellation of Taurus). After replenishing his supplies, Hawai'iloa returned home and brought his wife and his children back to Hawai'i, again using the fixed stars as guides. The Hawaiian people are all descended from him.

Some scholars have questioned the authenticity of the tradition of Hawai'iloa because of similarities between Biblical stories and stories in the tradition of Kumuhonua, of which the story of Hawai'iloa is a part. These scholars believe that parts of the tradition of Kumuhonua were invented in the 19th century to conform to Biblical traditions. However, Randie Kamuela Fong of Kamehameha Schools writes, "after careful review of Fornander's version of the Kumuhonua tradition, the Hawai'iloa portion bears no resemblance to any biblical account. The names, places, and basic settings and plots give us no reason to question their age and authenticity. Further, Patience Bacon of the Bishop Museum remembers kupuna (elders) being interviewed in the 1920's and 30's by

Tutu Puku‘i. These kupuna spoke of Hawai‘iloa as their ‘reality.’”

A tradition published in Teuira Henry’s *Ancient Tahiti* attributes the discovery of Hawai‘i to a voyaging hero named Tafa‘i (Hawaiian Kaha‘i), son of Hema and an underworld goddess named Hina-tahutahu (Hina, the magician). Tafa‘i “cut the sinews” of the islands of Tahiti (i.e., fixed them in their places), fished up the islands of the Tuamotu Archipelago and then “went exploring the trackless ocean northward.” He found a chain of islands beneath the sea and fished it up, naming the first island “Aihi” (“Bit-in-fishing,” now called “Hawai‘i”). “Next he drew up Maui and all the other islands of our archipelago.Éthen those intrepid navigators went south and returned with people to dwell on the beautiful new land, bringing with them their gods, their chiefs, and breadfruit and other plants.” Later, Tafa‘i tried to pull the Hawaiian islands south, closer to the Tahitian islands, but failed when the kapu forbidding the crew to speak or look back from the canoe was broken.

The connection between discovery and fishing is part of pan-Polynesian tradition of islands being fished out of the sea. A fisherman named Huku is said to have found Rakahanga island while on an aku fishing voyage from Rarotonga; later the three Maui brothers came to the same area and began fishing.. Maui-mua caught a shark; Maui-roto an ulua; and Maui-muri the island of Manihiki (Tairi “The Origin of the Island Manihiki”). Maui is also said to have fished up, among other islands, Tonga, Mangaia in the Cook Islands, and Aotearoa (New Zealand) (Buck 53).

This traditional association between fishing and the discovery islands suggests that fishermen, of whatever identities, were perhaps the most frequent discoverers of islands in ancient times, either while they roamed the ocean looking for new fishing grounds or chasing schools of pelagic fish, or after they were driven off course by storms on their way to known fishing grounds. A poetic way of describing their discoveries would be to say that the fishermen caught islands, not fish. Perhaps the name of Maui was given to anyone who discovered an island, in honor of some ancestral fisherman-explorer noted for finding islands.

Another intriguing possibility is proposed in Geoffrey Irwin’s *The Prehistoric Exploration and Colonization of the Pacific*. Irwin suggests that those who settled Polynesia may have used a deliberate strategy of exploration that allowed them to find islands without an inordinate risk to their lives and with a high rate of survival. (Other scholars have assumed that the exploration of the Pacific was full of danger and involved high

casualties at sea.) This deliberate strategy of exploration, according to Irwin, involved waiting for a reversal in wind direction and sailing in the direction that is normally upwind (i.e. eastward in the Pacific) for as far as it was safe to go given the supplies that were carried on the canoe. The return home (westward) would be made easy when the wind shifted back to its normal easterly direction. Irwin believes that this strategy is supported by the west to east settlement of the Pacific, from the islands of southeast Asia and Melanesia to Samoa, Tonga, the Cook Islands, the Society Islands, the Tuamotus, and Hiva (the Marquesas). Although no factual evidence would prove that this strategy of exploration was actually employed by Polynesian navigators, the strategy would have been obvious to anyone familiar with sailing. The tradition of ʻimi fenua (Hawaiian: ʻimi honua), or "searching for lands," reported from Hiva and other Polynesian islands, supports such a notion of deliberate exploration. Teuira Henry gives exploration and discovery as the motivation for the voyages of Ru and Hina, a brother and sister who circumnavigated the earth in their canoe Te-apori to locate islands: "After exploring the earth, Hina's love of discovery did not cease. So one evening when the full moon was shining invitingly, being large and half visible at the horizon, she set off in her canoe to make it a visit." She decided to stay there and remains today as the figure seen in the moon.

Whatever the motives and methods of exploration and discovery, once the location of an island was known, it became open to settlement.

The Polynesian Settlement of the Pacific

The Polynesian migration to Hawaiʻi was part of one of the most remarkable achievements of humanity: the discovery and settlement of the remote, widely scattered islands of the central Pacific. The migration began before the birth of Christ. While Europeans were sailing close to the coastlines of continents before developing navigational instruments that would allow them to venture onto the open ocean, voyagers from Fiji, Tonga, and Samoa began to settle islands in an ocean area of over 10 million square miles. The settlement took a thousand years to complete and involved finding and fixing in mind the position of islands, sometimes less than a mile in diameter on which the highest landmark was a coconut tree. By the time European explorers entered the Pacific Ocean in the 16th century almost all the habitable islands had been settled for hundreds of years.

The voyaging was all the more remarkable in that it was done in canoes built with tools of stone, bone, and coral. The canoes were navigated without instruments by expert seafarers who depended on their observations of the ocean and sky and traditional knowledge of the patterns of nature for clues to the direction and location of islands. The canoe hulls were dug out from tree trunks with adzes or made from planks sewn together with a cordage of coconut fiber twisted into strands and braided for strength. Cracks and seams were sealed with coconut fibers and sap from breadfruit or other trees. An outrigger was attached to a single hull for greater stability on the ocean; two hulls were lashed together with crossbeams and a deck added between the hulls to create double canoes capable of voyaging long distances.

The canoes were paddled when there was no wind and sailed when there was; the sails were woven from coconut or pandanus leaves. These vessels were seaworthy enough to make voyages of over 2,000 miles along the longest sea roads of Polynesia, such as the one between Hawai‘i and Tahiti. And though these double-hulled canoes had less carrying capacity than the broad-beamed ships of the European explorers, the Polynesian canoes were faster: one of Captain Cook’s crew estimated a Tongan canoe could sail “three miles to our two.”

After a visit to the Society Islands in 1774, Andia y Varela described the canoes he saw: “It would give the most skilful [European] builder a shock to see craft having no more breadth of beam than three [arm] spans carrying a spread of sail so large as to befit one of ours with a beam of eight or ten spans, and which, though without means of lowering or furling the sail, make sport of the winds and waves during a gale, their safety depending wholly on two light poles a couple of varas or so long (about eight feet), which, being placed athwartships, the one forward and the other aft, are fitted to another spar of soft wood placed fore and aft wise in the manner of an outriggerÉ These canoes are as fine forward as the edge of a knife, so that they travel faster than the swiftest of our vessels; and they are marvellous, not only in this respect, but for their smartness in shifting from one tack to the other.” (Corney, Vol. II, 282).

The voyaging was by no means easy. There was always a danger of swamping or capsizing in heavy seas, of having sails ripped apart or masts and booms broken by fierce winds, of smashing the hulls against unseen rocks or reefs; and while there were grass or leaf shelters on the decks of voyaging canoes, the voyagers were often exposed to the wind, rain, and sun, with only capes of leaves or bark-cloth wrappings for protection. A stormy night at sea, even in the tropics, can be brutally

chilling. If supplies ran short during a long voyage, and no fish or rainwater replenished them, then starvation became a possibility. As a tradition about a voyage from Hiva (the Marquesas) to Rarotonga puts it: "The voyage was so long; food and water ran out. One hundred of the paddlers died; forty men remained."

A long voyage was not just a physical, but a mental challenge as well, particularly for a navigator without compass or chart. To navigate miles of open ocean required an extensive and intimate knowledge of the ocean and sky. Captain Cook noted that Polynesian navigators used the rising and setting points of celestial bodies for directions. Andia y Varela was told how Tahitians also used the winds and swells to hold a course:

> There are many sailing-masters among the people, the term for whom is in their language fa'atere (Hawaiian: ho'okele). The fa'atere are competent to make long voyages like that from Otahiti to Oriayatea [Ra'iatea] (about 150 miles) and others farther afield. One of these sailing masters named Puhoro came to Lima on this occasion in the frigate; and from him and others I was able to find out the method by which they navigate on the high seas."
>
> They have no mariner's compass, but divide the horizon into sixteen parts, taking for the cardinal points those at which the sun rises and sets.
>
> When setting out from port the helmsman partitions the horizon, counting from E, or the point where the sun rises; he knows the direction in which his destination bears. He observes, also, whether he has the wind aft, or on one or the other beam, or on the quarter, or is close-hauled. He notes, further, whether there is a following sea, a head sea, a beam sea, or if the sea is on the bow or the quarter. He proceeds out of port with a knowledge of these [conditions], heads his vessel according to his calculation, and aided by the signs the sea and wind afford him, does his best to keep steadily on his course.
>
> The task becomes more difficult if the day is cloudy, because the sailing-master has no mark to count from for dividing the horizon. Should the night be cloudy as well, the sailing-master regulates his course by the wind and swells; and, since the wind is apt to vary in direction more than the swell does, he has his pennant, made of feathers and palmetto bark, by which to watch changes in the wind, and he trims his sails accordingly, always taking his cue for holding his course from the indications the sea affords. When the night is clear, he steers by the stars; and this is the easiest navigation for

> him because he knows the stars which rise and set over not only the islands he is familiar with, but also the harbours in the islands, so that he makes straight for the entrance by following the rhumb of the particular star that rises or sets over it. These sailing masters hit their destinations with as much precision as the most expert navigators of civilized nations could achieve (Corney, Vol. II, 284-6) .

To keep track of their position at sea during long sea voyages, the navigators used a system of dead reckoning – memorizing the distance and direction traveled until the destination was reached. Finding islands before they could actually be seen was also part of the art of navigation. Voyagers followed the flight of land-dwelling birds that fished at sea as these birds flew from the direction of islands in the morning or returned in the evenings. The navigators also watched for changes in swell patterns, cloud piled up over land, reflections on clouds from lagoons, and drifting land vegetation.

When European explorers found the islands of Polynesia, the common ancestry of the Polynesians was evident – the inhabitants of widely separated islands looked alike, spoke alike, and had similar cultural practices. Their manufactured products such as fishhooks, trolling lures, adzes, and ornaments also revealed similarities. And they had the same basic stock of domesticated plants and animals.

The peoples of Polynesia came from a common ancestral group that developed a distinctive fishing and farming culture in the islands of Tonga and Samoa.

While dates constantly change with new archaeological discoveries, the general sequence for the settlement of Polynesia has been relatively well established (Dates represent earliest archaeological finds; they almost certainly do not represent the earliest presence of human beings.):

- Hunters and gatherers inhabited Australia and New Guinea by 50,000 years ago.
- Around 1600-1200 B.C., a cultural complex called Lapita (identified by a distinctive pottery and named after a site in New Caledonia) spread from New Guinea in Melanesia as far east as Fiji, Samoa, and Tonga. Polynesian culture developed at the eastern edge of this region (i.e., in Samoa and Tonga).
- Around 300 B.C. or earlier, seafarers from Samoa and Tonga discovered and settled islands to the east – the Cook Islands, Tahiti-nui, Tuamotus, and Hiva (Marquesas Islands).

- Around 300 A.D. or earlier, voyagers from central or eastern Polynesia, possibly from Hiva, discovered and settled Easter Island.
- Around 400 A.D. or earlier, voyagers from the the Cook Islands, Tahiti-nui, and /or Hiva settled Hawai‘i.
- Around 1000 A.D. or earlier, voyagers from the Society and/or the Cook Islands settled Aotearoa (New Zealand).

The ethnobotanical evidence reflects this progression of settlement from the Western Pacific islands, through central Polynesia (the Cook Islands, Society Islands, and Hiva), and then to Hawai‘i. Of the 72 plants identified as having been transported to Polynesia by people, 41-45 are found in the Cook Islands, the Society Islands, and Hiva; 29 are found in Hawai‘i, including taro, breadfruit, sugar cane, bamboo, ti, yam, banana, ‘awa, paper mulberry, kukui, coconut, gourd, sweet potato, and mountain apple. The settlers also brought the pig, dog, chicken, and rat along with them. The transport of plants and domesticated animals on voyaging canoes suggests that the early settlers planned to colonize Hawai‘i, after having discovered its location.

The Settlement of Hawai‘i

Hawai‘i, which includes the largest islands in Polynesia outside of Aotearoa, must have appeared particularly rich in land and resources to its discoverers. The tradition of Hawai‘iloa records the event as follows: “[The voyagers] went ashore and found the land fertile and pleasant, filled with ‘awa, coconut trees, and so on, and Hawai‘iloa, the chief, gave that land his name. Here they dwelt a long time and when their canoe was filled with vegetable food and fish, they returned to their native country with the intention of returning to Hawai‘i-nei, which they preferred to their own country.” (Fornander, Vol. 6, 278; other traditions suggest that ‘awa and coconut were brought by those who settle Hawai‘i.)

Scholars believe that early settlers of Hawai‘i came predominantly from Hiva (Marquesas). The argument for a Hivan homeland is based in part on linguistic and biological evidence: “Indeed, the close relationship between the Hawaiian and Marquesan languages as well as between the physical populations constitutes strong and mutually corroborative evidence that the early Hawaiians came from the Marquesas” (Kirch 64).

The Marquesan language has been grouped under the category Proto Central Eastern Polynesian, along with Hawaiian, Tahitian, Tuamotuan, Rarotongan, and Maori. Vocabulary comparisons seem to indicate that

the dialect of the Southern Marquesan Islands (Hiva Oa, Tahuata, Fatu Hiva), is the closest relative of Hawaiian language (Green 1966):

Hawaiian / Marq-So. / Marq-No. / Gloss

inoa / inoa / ikoa / name
mano / mano / mako / shark
moena / moena / moeka / mat
one / one / oke / hunger

(From "Lexical Diffusion in Polynesia and the Marquesan-Hawaiian Relationship," Samuel H. Elbert, *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, 91 (4) December 1982, 505.)

About 56% of basic words in the two languages are the same or similar. For example:

Hawaiian / Marquesan / Gloss

mahina / mahina /moon, month
po / po / darkness
pu / pu / conch
kino / tino / body
kahuna / tuhuna / expert
imu / umu / oven
iʻa / ika / fish
lawaiʻa / awaika / fisherman
waʻa / vaka / canoe
hoe / hoe / paddle

("Glossary of Marquesan Native Terms," E.S. Craighill Handy, *The Native Culture in the Marquesas*, Honolulu: Bishop Museum, 1923)

Hawaiian and Marquesan also share words that are not found in other Polynesians languages:

Hawaiian / Marquesan / Gloss

ʻelele / keʻeʻe / messenger
makali / mataʻi / tie bait to hook (Haw.); string to tie bait to a hook (Marq.)

pa‘akai / pa‘atai / salt

(For a longer list of words, see Elbert’s “Lexical Diffusion in Polynesia and the Marquesan-Hawaiian Relationship,” 510-511.)

The two languages also share unique phonological changes from Proto Central Eastern Polynesian (the hypothetical original language). Elbert concludes that the linguistic evidence supports the hypothesis that the Hawaiian language derives from Marquesan (511).

Another argument to support the proposition that the primary migration to Hawai‘i came from Hiva is that the islands of Hiva are the best departure point for sailing to Hawai‘i from the South Pacific. They are closer to Hawai‘i and farther east than the Society Islands, the Tuamotus, or the Cook Islands. A canoe heading north in the easterly tradewinds is better off starting from a point as far east of Hawai‘i as possible. In computer simulation of voyages from the Marquesas to Hawai‘i, over 80 percent of the canoes that headed in the right direction (NNW to NW by N) reached Hawai‘i (Irwin 164-166).

Archaeological evidence also connects early settlers of Hawai‘i with Hiva – adzes, fishhooks, and pendants found at an early settlement site at Ka Lae on the Big Island of Hawai‘i are similar to those found in Hiva. Of course, the archaeology of the Pacific is still in its infancy. As comparative work progresses in the Pacific, similarities are emerging among artifacts of all the Polynesian islands, suggesting that perhaps widespread contact and trading were more frequent than previously thought.

It is probably too simplistic to attribute the settlement of any island group to a single migration from another single island group. The voyages of the Polynesian Voyaging Society’s Hokule‘a and computer-simulated voyages have shown that Polynesians could have sailed in traditional canoes all the north-south and east-west routes among their islands. Kenneth Emory has noted that some words in the Hawaiian language (such as the names of some days in the lunar month) are shared uniquely with the Tahitian language (Kirch 66), suggesting settlers to Hawai‘i came from Tahiti as well as the Marquesas. More archaeological evidence is needed from Hawai‘i, Hiva and other islands of Polynesia before any definitive statements can be made about the relationship among the island groups during the period of the early settlement of Hawai‘i.

Two-Way Voyaging after Settlement

According to Hawaiian oral traditions collected in the 19th century, voyaging continued between Hawai‘i and the South Pacific after the original settlement of Hawai‘i. The motives given for voyaging are various:

1. Maintaining Family Connections: The earliest traveller mentioned in oral tradition is the goddess Papa, or Walinu‘u; according to tradition she returned to Kahiki because her parents were from there; in Kahiki she became a young woman again; after herrejuvenation, she returned to Hawai‘i (Kamakau 92). Mo‘ikeha is said to have sent his son Kila to Tahiti to bring his grandson La‘amaikahiki to Hawai‘i (Fornander, Vol. IV, 112-128). Kaha‘i-a-Hema is said to have gone to Kahiki to find his father Hema, who had sailed to Kahiki to get the apo‘ula, or sacred red girdle, as a birth gift for Kaha‘i. Hema originally came to Hawai‘i from Kahiki (Kamakau 94).
2. Marriage: Hawai‘iloa voyaged from Hawai‘i to Tahiti to search for husbands or wives for his children. He brought back his brother Ki’s first born son Tu-nui-ai-a-te-Atua as a husband for his daughter O‘ahu (Fornander, VI, 279). Keanini (whose mother was from Hawai‘i) sailed from Kahiki to Hawai‘i to marry Ha‘inakolo; he and Ha‘inakolo returned to Kahiki. After they had a child called Leimakani, Ha‘inakolo and Leimakani returned to Hawai‘i (Kamakau 103-4). Lu‘ukia went from Hawai‘i to Kahiki where she married ‘Olopana; Kaupe‘a, the daughter of ‘Olopana, went from Kahiki to Hawai‘i to marry Kauma‘ili‘ula (Lu‘ukia’s brother); Kaupe‘a returned to Kahiki to be with her parents and to give birth to a child, who later returned to Hawai‘i, becoming an ancestor of chiefs (Kamakau 102).
3. Family Quarrels and Unhappy Love Affairs: Pele, the volcano goddess, quarrelled with her sister Namakaokaha‘i, a sea goddess, and left her homeland (the mystical land of Kuaihelani) to come to Hawai‘i (Emerson ix-xvi). Pa‘ao feuded with his brother Lonopele. After each killed the other’s son, Pa‘ao migrated to Hawai‘i (Kamakau 3-5; 97-100). According to one tradition, ‘Olopana grew jealous of his brother Mo‘ikeha, so Mo‘ikeha left for Hawai‘i (Kalakaua 115-135). Another version of the Mo‘ikeha tradition says he left Tahiti for Hawai‘i after being rejected by his brother’s wife Lu‘ukia (Fornander, Vol. IV, 112-114).
4. Burial in Homeland: La‘amaikahiki took Mo‘ikeha’s bones back to

Tahiti for burial (Fornander, Vol. IV, 152-154).

5. Acquiring Mana from the Homeland: Pa‘ao, who brought the war god Kuka‘ilimoku to Hawai‘i, returned to Tahiti to bring back a chief of pure blood (Kamakau 3-5; 97-100).
6. Escaping Flood and Famine: Pupu-hulu-ana left Kaua‘i during a famine and searched for islands to the east (Kamakau 103). ‘Olopana left Waipi‘o for Kahiki after a flood brought on a famine (Kalakaua 115-135).
7. Maka‘ika‘i – Sightseeing and Adventure: Kaulu “traveled throughout Kahiki, saw all the kingdoms of the world” (Kamakau 92). Paumaukua “was a chief who traveled around Kahiki and brought back with him several foreigners” (Kamakau 95). Mo‘ikeha’s grandson Kaha‘i-a-Ho‘okamali‘i went sightseeing to Tahiti and brought back with him a breadfruit tree from ‘Upolu (Taha‘a in the Society Islands) and planted it at Pu‘uloa, ‘Ewa district, O‘ahu (Kamakau 110).

Similar motivations and motifs appear in the voyaging traditions of other Pacific islands. Another motivation for voyaging, not represented in this list, was to obtain materials or plants not available on one’s home island. The tradition of Aka describes a voyage from Hiva (Marquesas) to Rarotonga to obtain highly prized red feathers; the story of Pepe-iu describes a voyage made to bring the breadfruit plant from Hiva to Rarotonga.

The End of Voyaging to Hawai‘i

By the time Europeans arrived in Hawai‘i in the 18th century, voyaging between Hawai‘i and the rest of Polynesia had ceased for more than 400 years, perhaps the last voyager being Pa‘ao or Mo‘ikeha in the 14th century. The reason for the cessation of voyaging is not known. However, after the 14th century, the archaeological evidence reveals a dramatic expansion of population and food production in Hawai‘i (Kirch 303-306). Perhaps the resources and energies of the Hawaiian people went into developing their ‘aina; and ties with families and gods on the islands to the south weakened.

Voyaging and Human Survival

As Ben Finney suggests in “One Species, or a Million?” (From Sea to Space), the history of humanity is a history of migrations. Human beings

originated in Africa perhaps 200,000 years ago, spread through Europe and Asia, walked across a once-existant land bridge (or paddled along the coastline) to the Americas, then traversed short sea distances to the once-unified land mass of New Guinea-Australia. The human movement into Polynesia was the final phase of the human settlement of the globe, into the most isolated, most difficult to reach habitable land. The particular genius and contribution of the Polynesians was the development of seafaring and navigation skills and canoe technology that enabled them to voyage back and forth across the long sea distances among islands of the Pacific. The motivation for the exploration was probably universal: the search for new lands for settlement and new resources for survival.

Human beings have been one of the most successful species on earth, adapting technology and culture for survival in new environments. Human population has flourished in many different places and times. The Polynesians, with their expertise in fishing and farming, were able to develop healthy, stable communities on islands with limited resources. Resource management and conservation were essential on such islands, since overexploitation could result in damage to or permanent loss of resources. Malama ʻaina, caring for the land, was a key value for survival. At their best, Polynesian societies found a balance between human needs and limited resources. Extended families, or ʻohana, worked the land and sea; those near the coast supplied the products of the sea to those living inland, who in turn supplied land products. The division of labor and sharing is embodied in the tradition of two brothers and their wives – Kuʻula-uka, a farmer of the uplands, and his wife Hina-ulu-ʻohia, a goddesss of the forest; and Kuʻula-kai, a fisherman, and his wife Hina-puku-iʻa, who gathered products of the reef and seashore. As part of an ʻohana, everyone worked together and received a share of the produce. Stinginess and hoarding was criticized, as was laziness, sponging, and gluttony. Hospitality to malihini (persons from outside of the community) was also a strong tradition.

Yet establishing such a stable community on one island did not eliminate the need for exploration and migration. There was always the possibility of finding and settling a better island with more resources and space. And no human society is stable and secure forever. Natural disasters occur – tsunamis, rising sea levels or sinking islands, typhoons and hurricanes, floods, and droughts could bring on famine. Even if no natural disaster occurred, population generally increases in favorable environments, and the maximum carrying capacity of islands were eventually reached. Successful food production, unless combined with

birth control, results in overcrowding. One solution to overcrowding was migration to marginal areas of the inhabited island, or to a new island. The tradition of Ru tells how this Ra‘iatean migrated to the uninhabited Aitutaki with a group of settlers because of overpopulation on Ra‘iatea following a long period of peace and prosperity (Koro 17-24).

Without the safety valve of migration, overpopulation could lead to overexploitation of resources, environmental degradation, food shortages, and conflicts over the remaining resources.

Patrick C. McCoy argues that such was the case on Rapa Nui (Easter Island): “In sharp contrast to the first millennium of progressive development that produced Easter Island’s world renowned statuary and megalithic architecture, the final 200 years of prehistory were a period of general decadence. Cultural instability is attested to in a wealth of traditions on tribal warfare, which is known to have resulted in famines, the emergence of cannibalism, and the widespread destruction of image ahu...Ecological and archaeological data suggest man-induced environmental change as an explanation for cultural decadence. The long term cumulative effects of population growth on land and flora are identified with an irreversible process of environmental degradation” (“Easter Island,” 159-160).

Of course, McCoy’s conclusions, commonplace now in Euroamerican Rapa Nui scholarship, are speculative. From the Polynesian point of view, why would the people have destroyed their own island or themselves, when it was against their traditional values to do so; the land and sea are their parents, which nurture and sustain their well-being and which in turn must be taken care of and protected. Another explanation of the devastation of Rapa Nui could be that some natural disaster--say a long drought--could have caused it. A small island does not have the same ability to recover from such a disaster as a large island or continent might. Once the ecology of the island had been disrupted, by natural disaster and not by the activities of native people, the island could not longer sustain the population or activities that were once carried on. And if the people were trapped on the island because now all the trees had died out and there were none left to build canoes to search for new islands, the conflicts described in oral tradtions could have occurred.

Whether the limits on resources were due to population growth and overexploitation of resources or to natural disasters, the oral traditions of Polynesia describe competing chiefs--often two brothers or relatives--fighting over land and power, with the winner taking control of the land, and the loser being killed or forced to leave. The cousins Tangiia and

Tutapu fought over the right to rule in Tahiti. Tutapu won and Tangiia left, eventually settling in Rarotonga. Tutapu, known as "the relentless one," continued to pursue Tangiia, until they met again on Rarotonga, and Tangiia slew Tutapu (Te Ariki-Tara-are).

The brothers Pa'ao and Lonopele feuded over some stolen fruits in Ra'iatea, and after each had killed the other's son, Pa'ao left his homeland to settle in Hawai'i.

Today the world's inhabitable lands have been claimed, and the boundaries of nations drawn. While technological advances continue to increase the carrying capacity of island earth and there is still room left for more people, environmental degradation is already apparent in the destruction of the rainforests, the erosion of farmlands, the overexploitation of ocean fisheries, industrial and agricultural pollution, the growing volume of toxic waste products and sewage, and the loss of biodiversity and human diversity. A monocultural human system for exploiting resources to increase individual profits has expanded over the globe. Individuals and groups still migrate, but if we look at the earth as an island in space (size is relative to the balance between resources and population), then people are just moving from one part of the island to another. There are no new islands to discover and inhabit on the planet. One could adopt the vision of Ben Finney in "One Species, or a Million?": human beings could board spaceships (as Polynesian boarded canoes) and colonize the solar system. But the cost would be enormous, and perhaps our resources would be better spent learning how to conserve resources and control population growth within the limits of the island Earth

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